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THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC  
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THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL  
1915

INCLUDING THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
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## A FIND OF ANGLO-SAXON STYCAS AT LANCASTER

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.

**T**HROUGH the kindness and courtesy of the Vicar of St. Mary's Church, Lancaster, the Rev. J. U. Bardsley, I have had the pleasure of examining a parcel of stycas.

All the specimens belong to the reign of Æthelred II., who ruled over Northumbria from A.D. 840 to 848.

The coins numbered fourteen, of which thirteen were copper and one silver although below sterling fineness. The incident of the latter is a common occurrence in coins of this class and period, and it again leaves unanswered the old vexed question to what extent the fact is due to accident.

The stycas were found in January, 1914, by the Vicar's gardener in a corner of the kitchen garden adjoining the Vicarage, about 4 feet below the surface. Of the fourteen coins, eleven were too much corroded to admit of detailed description with any measure of accuracy. That of the remaining three is as follows :—

1. *Obverse*.—+ EDILRED REX In the centre, a small cross.  
*Reverse*.—+ EARDVVLF In the centre, a small cross.
2. *Obverse*.—+ EDILRED REX In the centre, a pellet within an annulet.  
*Reverse*.—+ EARDVLF In the centre, five pellets, arranged two, one, two. Silver.
3. *Obverse*.—+ EDILRED REX In the centre, a small cross.  
*Reverse*.—+ EANRED In the centre, a pellet within an annulet.

Many inaccuracies have been placed on record by attempts having been made to read inscriptions on stycas which are not clearly decipherable, and this accounts for descriptions creeping into the text-books which cannot be proved by the coins in any known collections.

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Appended is a list of moneyers' names assigned to stycas which appear in published lists with the authorities, when known, responsible for them. I have never been able to discover any of these alleged stycas, and shall be glad to receive information of them with a view to verification and recognition.

All the coins of Archbishop Eanbald of the moneyer MONNE which I have examined are, in my opinion, false.

TABLE OF QUESTIONED MONEYS OF NORTHUMBRIAN STYCAS.

EANRED.

CVDHARD Creeke.  
EDELWEARD Creeke.  
ERWINNE Keary.  
HVNLAFF Keary.  
LEOFDEGN Keary.  
WENDELBERHT Keary.

ÆTHELRED II.

EDELVVLF  
HVNLAFF Creeke.  
ALDATES Keary.  
EDELRED Keary.  
EDELWEARD Keary.  
GADVTELS Hawkins.  
HI6HERE Lindsay.

OSBERCHT.


CVDBERHT Keary.  
ERVVINNE Keary.

VIGMUND.

EARDVVLF Creeke.  
ERPINE Creeke.

SOME COINS OF SIGTUNA INSCRIBED WITH THE  
NAMES OF ÆTHELRED, CNUT, AND HARTHACNUT.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

IGTUNA, now not much more than a village, is situated about twenty-five miles north of Stockholm, the modern capital of Sweden. It first comes under notice as the place where the historic Odin is popularly supposed to have established his capital after his conquest of the country, and where he erected a temple for celebrating the rites of the new faith which he introduced. Freyer, who is reputed to have flourished at the beginning of the Christian era, removed his capital from Sigtuna to Upsala, but the former place continued to be of very considerable importance, at least down to the time of the issue of the coins which will presently be noticed, as an annual fair was held there, and it was a favourite residence of the court.

Before considering the coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the names of ÆTHELRED, CNUT and HARTHACNUT, I may perhaps mention, for the information of those readers who are not conversant with the coins of Scandinavia of the period, that the letter "G" is most frequently, if not always, softened into an "H," or is omitted altogether from the coins. Thus on the money of Olaf Skötkonung and Anund Jacob, the first of Swedish princes to strike coins in their own names at Sigtuna, we get for that place-name such readings as SIHTVN and SITVN, or abbreviations. The coins of Magnus the Good of Norway and Denmark also disclose the same orthographical form, for his name appears upon them as MAHNVS and MANVS, never, apparently, MAENVS.

Turning now to the coins of my title, I may perhaps mention that one of the primary objects of this paper is to discuss readings of certain pennies which have been recorded as "uncertain" in Anglo-Saxon lists.



#### 4 *Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed Æthelred, Cnut, and Harthacnut.*

In Hildebrand's comprehensive *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm*, 1881, for instance, there appears a number of mints which were not located by him to any known place, and although in a most useful paper by Major Carlyon-Britton, on "Uncertain Anglo-Saxon Mints, and some new attributions,"<sup>1</sup> many of these unappropriated coins have, with every degree of probability, been geographically located, the list was not entirely exhausted. One of the mints which remains for discussion is that inscribed on the coins as **SITV** and **SITVN**. The coins inscribed **SITV** are given on p. 137 of the catalogue above referred to and they therein purport to be of the reign of Æthelred II. The inscription on the obverse lends colour to this position, as does the general design of the coins, which is similar to those of his "long-cross" or "Irish" type. From the specimen here illustrated, taken from my own cabinet, it will be seen that the legends are :—



FIG. 1.—PENNY OF SIGTUNA INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OE ÆTHELRED.

*Obverse.*—+ EDERED EX AIGOL

*Reverse.*—+ NHTINC SITV Weight  $31\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

Of the two coins in the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm with this reverse reading, one is exactly similar to the specimen described above, and the other differs only in the obverse legend, which reads **ÆDEL RD RÆX AICO**. Hildebrand, in a footnote in the 1846 edition of his catalogue, says that they are inserted in order to fix attention upon the town name. He adds, "For Swedish numismatists this name has a special interest through resemblance with that of Sigtuna, where Olaf Skötkonung and Anund Jacob, with English moneyers, struck Sweden's first money." These remarks seem to indicate that the learned author was alive to the possibility of the coins belonging to the Swedish mint of Sigtuna, and an endeavour will now be made to bring forward reasons for definitely

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, 1910.

appropriating them to that town, so that the place-name may be eliminated from any future lists of Anglo-Saxon mints.

In addition to the confused inscriptions on the coins, which were also noticed by Hildebrand, the workmanship of the designs and letters is far inferior to that of the true Saxon pennies of similar type, and this will best be demonstrated by comparison with a typical English coin of Æthelred II., as illustrated by Fig. 2, which I have selected from my cabinet for this purpose. It reads:—



FIG. 2.—ANGLO-SAXON PENNY OF ÆTHELRED II., STRUCK AT OXFORD.

*Obverse.*—+ ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX

*Reverse.*—+ PVLFPINE MΩO OXNA Weight 24½ grains.

Fig. 1, the SITV piece, is obviously a copy, by an inferior workman, of a coin similar to Fig. 2, and this points to a foreign source of issue.

Further distinctive features to be remarked about these SITV coins are, that they are of a type which was very extensively imitated by princes contemporary with, or immediately succeeding, Æthelred II., and that their weight is most excessive, even allowing for the fact that the weights of the coins of Æthelred II. fluctuate to a considerable degree.

Taking the above facts as a whole, it seems that we should be not unreasonable if we first looked abroad before assuming that Britain was responsible for the emission of the coins. Of the foreign mints of the time, Sigtuna stands out, pre-eminently, as that which, from its orthographical form, is most likely to have been the place-name indicated. Further, since Æthelred II. could have had no jurisdiction in Sigtuna, it would follow that the SITV pieces inscribed with his name must also be transferred to a Swedish prince, almost certainly Olaf Skötkonung. This monarch is well known to have struck coins at Sigtuna of the same

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type as those under notice, as well as imitations of another issue of Æthelred II., namely, the CRVX type.



FIG. 3.—PENNY OF OLAF SKÖTKONUNG, STRUCK AT SIGTUNA.

The specimen of Olaf's coins in the British Museum, indeed, gives the Anglian title, see Fig. 3, for it reads on the obverse:— $\text{+OFAFA REX ANCOF}$ , so that the legend is but one step removed from the abject copies represented by Fig. 1. The average weight also of the undoubted money of Olaf is much the same as that of the uncertain coins under notice. This is a very important point, because the weights of the money of Olaf are so much higher than those of the coins of any other princes of his time and after, not excepting his son and successor, Anund Jacob.<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, the SITV coins are of Swedish origin they must fall, by the weight test alone, to Olaf's reign.



FIG. 4.—PENNY OF LUND IN DENMARK INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF ÆTHELRED.

Hauberg<sup>2</sup> suggests that these coins should be appropriated to Denmark, but the size, the crude designing, the confused inscriptions and, more especially, the weight militate against such an attribution when one compares the coins with those bearing the name of Æthelred, the Danish origin of which is indisputable. These latter are of good design, with well-formed letters in the legends, and are of small module and light weight. A comparison of Fig. 4, from the writer's collection, which illustrates one of these coins, weighing  $15\frac{1}{2}$  grains, with Fig. 1, the

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1871, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> "Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146," p. 47, footnote.

SITV piece, will amply demonstrate that the two classes had no common origin, and I think, therefore, that it is only reasonable to accept, in this instance, the message of the SITV coin itself, which message clearly indicates Sigtuna as the mint of origin.

Other instances of coins of one monarch inscribed with the name and titles of another are by no means rare in this period. An analogous issue is that of the coins of the kings of Dublin of the same type as the SITV pieces, with the name and title of Æthelred II. on the obverse. To illustrate this class for the purpose of comparison I have chosen Fig. 5 from my Irish series, which reads :—



FIG. 5.—PENNY OF DUBLIN INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF ÆTHELRED.

*Obverse.*—+ ÆDELRED REX AIGO

*Reverse.*—+ FÆEREMIN MO DYFLI Weight 21½ grains.

It can no more be said that Æthelred II. had jurisdiction in Ireland than in Sweden, and I think it will be conceded that these coins were issued in Dublin for King Sihtric of Dublin, as the SITV pieces were struck in Sigtuna for King Olaf of Sweden.

It is desirable next to consider an entirely different series of coins of Sigtuna, bearing on the obverse the inscription + CNVT REX SP, that is, Cnut, King of Sweden, for, of course, the letter P is our W ; and on the reverse + ÐORMOÐ ON SIHT, or its abbreviation. No native king of Sweden of the name of Cnut is known to the history of this time, and the interesting question arises whether our Cnut the Great added a part of Sweden to his other very considerable dominions. Before entering into this question I may, perhaps, remark that these coins, unlike the other issues treated in this paper, have never been claimed as Anglo-Saxon, and, moreover, the regularity of their workmanship and the purity of their inscriptions place them in an entirely different category

8 *Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed Æthelred, Cnut, and Harthacnut.*

from the coins of Sigtuna bearing the name of Æthelred already discussed. Instead of being servile copies of a foreign coin by an ignorant workman, which is so characteristic of the "Æthelred" pieces, they have every appearance of being an issue by a skilled moneyer acting under proper instructions for the designs and inscriptions used. They are of two varieties, as follows :—



FIGS. 6 AND 7.—PENNIES OF SIGTUNA INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF CNUT.

*Obverse.*—+ CNVT REX SP—divided by the bust. Mantled bust to left with fleured sceptre before.

*Reverse.*—+ ÐORMOÐ ON SIH Short cross voided, enclosed in an inner circle. On the centre of the cross and in each of the angles, an annulet enclosing a pellet. Fig. 6.

*Obverse.*—As before.

*Reverse.*—+ ÐORMOÐ ON SIHT Short cross voided, surrounded by an inner circle. In the centre, an annulet enclosing a pellet. Fig. 7.

In the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1880 and 1881, Mr. Herbst, of Copenhagen, incidentally referred to the second coin, and as he considered that the name CNVT was carelessly engraved for ANVND, he gave it to Anund Jacob of Sweden. An examination, however, of the casts of the actual coin, which I am enabled to illustrate by the courtesy of the Keeper of the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, does not show any trace of blundering either upon the obverse or upon the reverse. On the contrary, the dies for both this and the first variety, illustrated as Fig. 6, were very well executed. It is possible that Mr. Herbst never saw the coin he mentions, and he does not appear to have known of the first variety. His explanation of the legend may, I think, be dismissed.

Turning now to what Hauberg has to say, we find on p. 248 of his monograph on the coins of Denmark to A.D. 1146 the following remarks :—

Of the time of Cnut we know some specimens of a rare money which offer interest wholly peculiar. One reads: + CNVT REX SP and + ÐORMOÐ ON SIHT. It designates, therefore, Cnut as King of the Swedes, and indicates that it was struck at Sigtuna by an English moneyer of the name of Thormoth. We find the name on several Swedish coins of this time, but not on any Danish or English piece.

Different opinions have been given on the signification of this money. History does not teach us that Cnut may have succeeded in subduing Sweden, or even a part of that country. On the contrary, his struggle against the royal allies, Anund Jacob of Sweden and Saint Olaf of Norway, did not end to his advantage. Nevertheless, as this piece is of a moneyer of Sigtuna and it expressly designates Cnut as King of the Swedes, some thought that they saw in it an important proof that this Danish king succeeded in forcing a part of Sweden under his domination.

If we ask ourselves what importance can be attached to this money, we must not dwell too much on the inscription of the reverse, according to which the pieces would have been struck in Sweden ; in fact, we find many parallels to it among our Danish money of the times of Harthacnut and Magnus the Good. This often bears the name of an English town, especially Lincoln, simply because the moneyer made use of the reverse of coins brought from England. It is otherwise with the inscription of the obverse :—*Rex Sverum*. We possess, it is true, Danish money bearing the name of Æthelred, and of others, that [is,] of Edward [the Confessor], of which the origin is difficult to explain ; but neither Æthelred nor Edward is intitled on them King of the Danes. The most natural explanation to give of the money of Cnut is that,



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as he made warlike preparations to invade Sweden, he himself in the meantime caused to be struck some pieces bearing the title of King of Sweden ; further, a Swedish moneyer may have been at this period in the service of the King who copied for the reverse a coin brought from Sigtuna.

In support of the Danish origin of these coins, Hauberg quotes, p. 47, another bearing the design of the *Agnus Dei* and a blundered inscription on the obverse, whilst on the reverse is the reading, ✠ WVLF MON SIHTVN ; also a coin of Harthacnut reading ✠ OSBRN ON SITVN.

It must be confessed that Hauberg's reasons for attributing the Thormoth coins to Denmark—in the catalogue they are placed under the mint of Lund—are no more convincing than Mr. Herbst's reason for attributing them to Anund Jacob.

The existence of coins struck in Denmark with the names of Anglo-Saxon monarchs on the obverse, and of Anglo-Saxon towns on the reverse, is a strong point, but there seems little reason why the blundered *Agnus-Dei* piece quoted might not, as its reverse reading implies, have been struck at Sigtuna. The coin of Harthacnut referred to by Hauberg will be discussed later. Further, although the theory of the premature assumption of the Swedish title would be feasible, perhaps, in connection with one type of coins, the suggestion is much weakened when it is remembered that two varieties are in evidence. It is also, so far as I am aware, entirely without precedent in the early mediæval coinages. If Cnut did prematurely assume the Swedish royal title, it has to be explained why it is not found on any of the numerous and undoubted Danish coins with the name of Lund on the reverse. In other words, it is curious that a moneyer of Sweden working in Lund should have put the Swedish title on the coins struck for his Danish master, whereas no Danish moneyer did likewise, as it is inconceivable that the instructions to assume the conquest were given only to a moneyer from Sigtuna, and not to any who were natives of Lund. Again, the name on the coins is that of Thormoth, the well-known moneyer of Anund, Cnut's Swedish opponent, and otherwise known only on undoubted Swedish coins.

Before accepting Hauberg's explanation, therefore, I think it would be well to examine the history of the quarrel with Olaf of Norway and Anund of Sweden, because I think that it will be possible to arrive at a reasonable conclusion that the coins are, what they purport to be, evidence of Cnut's overlordship of at least a part of Sweden.

In the winter of A.D. 1024 Cnut sent a Saxon embassy to Olaf of Norway, formally requesting him to pay homage for his kingdom and such tribute as had been levied on Norway by former Danish sovereigns. Olaf returned an insulting defiance and, in the following year, A.D. 1025, approached the King of Sweden, Anund Jacob, his brother-in-law, on the subject of an alliance against Cnut. Such an alliance was concluded on the basis of mutual support, and although Cnut made an attempt to dissolve it by sending gifts to Anund, and assuring him of security for himself and his kingdom if he would break away from Olaf, the attempt was unsuccessful. It was, however, not until the next year, A.D. 1026, that Cnut was in a position to fight the allies. He then headed a great fleet from England, which sailed eastward through Lime Firth, driving before him Olaf, who, with his ships, had been coasting along the shores of Zealand. In the meantime Anund was advancing westward along the Scanian coast. Cnut, after defeating part of the Swedish fleet at Stangeberg,<sup>1</sup> encountered the allies at the mouth of the Holy River, a small stream draining some inland lakes, in the eastern part of Scania, and here was fought the battle to which Hauberg alludes. Prior to the conflict a scheme of defence appears to have been entered into between Olaf and Anund, in pursuance of which the latter was left in command of the ships while the former landed, marched inland a little way, and dammed up the river with trees and turf, where it left the inland lakes, with a view to breaking the dam and letting the flood loose at the time when Cnut's ships would be in the river. Subsequent events may be described in the graphic words of Snorri Sturlason in the *Saga of St. Olaf*.

At dawn the next morning, a large part of Cnut's forces was found to have landed; some were conversing, others seeking

<sup>1</sup> *Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum*, 348.

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amusement. Then, without the least warning, the waters came down in torrents, dashing the floating trees against the ships. The ships were injured and the waters overflowed the river banks, drowning the men who had gone on land and also many who were still on the ships. Those who were able to do so cut the ropes and allowed their ships to drift, each in its own direction. The *Great Dragon* that Cnut himself commanded was among these ; it was not easily managed by the oars alone and drifted out towards the hostile fleet. When the allies recognised the ship, they immediately surrounded it ; but it was not readily to be attacked, for the ship was high like a castle and had a number of men on board, who were carefully chosen, thoroughly armed, and very reliable. It was not long before Earl Ulf came up alongside with his ships and men and the battle was now joined in earnest. Cnut's forces then approached from all sides, and the Kings Olaf and Anund realised that they had won as much as fate had allowed them for this time ; so they ordered a retreat, withdrew from Cnut's fleet and separated from the fight.

I have furnished a full description of the battle, because it shows that, but for Olaf's device, Cnut would probably have been an easy victor ; and as it was, the engagement was drawn, since the allies withdrew, although leaving Cnut in too disorganised a condition to make an effective pursuit. It should be mentioned that the references in William of Malmesbury and Roger of Wendover to the effect that Godwin, afterwards the famous Earl of Wessex, took part in this campaign and defeated the Swedes unaided in a night attack, is a misconception. Henry of Huntingdon gives a similar account, with the exception that the exploit is alleged to have been against the Wends, and is given to the time of Cnut's first visit to Denmark in A.D. 1019. This account is no doubt the true version.

The battle of the Holy River was probably fought in September, A.D. 1026, although the *Saxon Chronicle* records it under A.D. 1025, and winter coming on without another engagement—it may be mentioned

that Olaf fled overland to; his own kingdom—Cnut appears to have abandoned his project of subduing the allies for a time, and it seems not unlikely that he did so in the hope that, after an interval, the coalition would be dissolved. He was not a monarch who would heedlessly throw away his men if he could secure his end by diplomacy, as is evidenced by his wholesale bribery of the Norwegian chiefs before his conquest of that country. If this was Cnut's reason for not pursuing the war, it was, as will be seen later, amply justified.

For reasons political, or religious, he determined at this time upon the famous pilgrimage to Rome, which he carried out in the early months of A.D. 1027, although the *Saxon Chronicle* incorrectly, as will be seen, places it under A.D. 1031.<sup>1</sup> From Rome, or upon his journey returning to Denmark, he sent the well-known letter to England, part of which is important to this discussion. It is therefore necessary to give the following short extracts:—

Cnut, King of all England, Denmark, Norway and part of the Swedes to etc. . . . .

I notify you that I have recently journeyed to Rome. . . . .

I wish you further to know that, returning by the way I came, I am now going to Denmark through the advice of all the Danes, to make peace and firm treaty with those nations who were desirous, had it been possible for them, to deprive us both of life and of sovereignty. This, however, they were not able to perform since God, Who by His kindness preserves me in my kingdom and in my honour, and destroys the power of all my adversaries, has brought their strength to nought. Moreover, when I have established peace with the surrounding nations, and put all our sovereignty here in the East in tranquil order, so that there shall be no fear of war or enmity

<sup>1</sup> Larson, *Canute the Great*, p. 167. Florence of Worcester furnishes internal evidence that its actual date was 1027, for he tells us that the letter was sent by the hand of Lyfing, who, he adds, was promoted to the see of Crediton in the same year, and we know that this was in A.D. 1027. He also states that Cnut met in Rome Conrad and "all the princes of the nations." The princes were no doubt assembled for the coronation of Conrad in A.D. 1027.

on any side, I intend coming to England as early in the summer as I shall be able to get my fleet prepared.

That Cnut expected a renewal of the war with the Norwegians and Swedes in the summer of this year, A.D. 1027, is evident from that section of the letter in which he declares that he is going to Denmark for the purpose of settling firm and lasting peace with those nations which, had it been in their power, would have deprived him of life and kingdom. This could have referred only to Olaf and Anund, against whom in the previous year so indecisive a campaign had been waged. But of the operations of the summer of A.D. 1027 history is unfortunately silent. That the "lasting peace" was not made is certain, because it was not until A.D. 1028, after his return to England late in the previous year, that Cnut's conquest of Norway was accomplished. This historically silent summer of A.D. 1027 is very significant, and I would suggest that in it Cnut made a successful incursion against his Swedish enemy and forced his overlordship over Anund, or over at least a part of Sweden, as he did in the following winter over Malcolm, King of the Scots. Like the diplomatist he was, he probably dealt with his foes in detail; that is, Sweden first, in the summer of A.D. 1027, Scotland, as a probable ally of Norway, next, in the same year, and Norway last and most effectually in A.D. 1028. He would hardly have returned from Rome to England, via Denmark, without doing something, having regard to his expressed intention of clearing the political atmosphere in Scandinavia.

In support of the theory now propounded we have not only the very tangible evidence of the coins, but the fact that, in spite of mutual necessities and reciprocal agreements, Anund of Sweden no longer appears on the pages of history as the ally of Olaf, not even at the time of the latter's direst need. Notwithstanding the Swedish king's admiration of and kinship to the Norwegian monarch, he does not offer shelter when, in A.D. 1029, Olaf is treading the paths of exile, after the submission of Norway to Cnut. This is evident from the record of Olaf's flight across Sweden and the Baltic Sea to Russia.<sup>1</sup> Further, when, in A.D. 1030, the exiled king returned to Norway, only to be

<sup>1</sup> Snorri Sturlason, *Saga of St. Olaf*.



defeated and slain at Sticklestead, the name of Anund is still absent from the records. These facts point strongly to the probability that the Swedish king was not in a position to render help to Olaf, and it seems a legitimate assumption to account for this by his subjection by Cnut, in A.D. 1027. Again, when Harthacnut, Cnut's successor on the Danish throne, in about A.D. 1038, adjusted his differences with Magnus, the son of St. Olaf, who had recovered his father's crown, the treaty was made on Swedish territory.<sup>1</sup>

The omission of all reference in the Saxon chronicles to the Swedish conquest does not invalidate the theory now propounded. The conquest was so distant from England that it is not remarkable that the annalists in Britain failed to refer to it. Moreover, unlike the conquest of Norway, it could not have been very thorough, and it is probable that Anund's eclipse did not involve entire subjection. He was no doubt left as under-king; or a part only of his country was brought under the sway of Cnut, for there were large territories to the north of Sigtuna to which he might safely have retreated. In either case Cnut's supremacy would probably have been of a very loose character, like that over the Scots, and over the Danes of Dublin.

It might also be mentioned that there are many other accepted exploits of our sovereigns which are not referred to in the meagre record of the Anglo-Saxon chronicles.

We will now advert to the opening greeting of Cnut's letter, which describes him as overlord of Norway and part of Sweden. These two references have been questioned, and it is unfortunate that no contemporary manuscripts of the letter are in existence, the oldest known record being found in the writings of Florence of Worcester, who died A.D. 1118. This writer is, however, of the very highest value after the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It has been suggested that the word Swedes in the letter is a scribal error for Slavs.<sup>2</sup> The Slavs were peoples settled along the Baltic coast and southern Danish border to the River Elbe; but it should be remarked that there was no organised Slavic state, whereas there was a Swedish kingdom, and it must not be overlooked

<sup>1</sup> Larson, *Canute the Great*, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Steenstrup, *Normaneri* iii, 326-8, and Larson, *Canute the Great*.

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that although our copies of the letter are not contemporary, the coins which also give Cnut the Swedish title are, and for them no epigraphical explanation is necessary, for they prove that the word "Swedes" in the letter was not intended to be read as something else.

The reference in the letter to the kingship over Norway is certainly incorrect, as Cnut did not become overlord of that country until A.D. 1028. In explanation of this it has been considered by some that a later copyist, knowing Cnut to have been king of Norway, inserted the title, overlooking the fact that that country was not subdued until after the letter was written. It seems to me that the same thing might have happened in connection with the Swedish reference, and that, instead of a scribal error of Swedes for Slavs, who, after all, in the Chronicles seem mainly to be called Wends, the scribe knew of the Swedish conquest, either by tradition or otherwise, as well as of that of Norway, and inserted both references owing to the confusion in the dates. Or it may be that he desired to aggrandise the king, who, as is well known, was a very liberal supporter of the Church, and thus earned an appreciation which long outlasted his own life. If this explanation is correct, the reference to the kingship over Norway and Sweden would not have appeared in the original letter, but it has, nevertheless, considerable value to the present discussion, because the first record in which it is given, namely, the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, is not only above suspicion, but is also not so very far removed in time from the date of the events.

In any case the scantiness of the records will not admit of a definite statement that Sweden, or a part of it, did not come under Cnut's control. As we have seen, Cnut returned to Denmark in A.D. 1027, with the avowed intention of prosecuting the war against both Norway and Sweden. Norway was subdued in the following year, and it is not an unnatural inference that Sweden was dealt with first, that is, in the summer of A.D. 1027. The records say nothing, either on this point or any other, and it seems only reasonable that we should, by the voice of the coins, fill up the hiatus caused through the silence of the documents.

It will be seen that the reverse of the first of the two varieties of coins under discussion is substantially the same as Cnut's Anglo-Saxon

Type represented in *Hildebrand* as Type G, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type XIV, whilst the obverse is substantially the same as Hildebrand's Type H, represented in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type XVI. The second coin is practically the same as the last-named type, *Hildebrand* H, so that the issue of this Swedish money of Cnut the Great occurred just at the time that Type G was superseded by Type H, for there is little doubt that Type H immediately followed Type G, and there is reason to think that the end of the one type and the beginning of the other synchronized with the time suggested for the Swedish conquest.

We will now discuss the last variety of coins of Sigtuna on which appears the name of a king of England. It is placed in Hildebrand's *Anglo-Saxon Catalogue*, under Harthacnut, No. 169. The legends on the coin run as follows :—



FIG. 8.—PENNY OF SIGTUNA INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF HARTHACNUT.

*Obverse.*—+ HARAENV

*Reverse.*—+ OSBRN ON ZITVN

In common with the coins of Cnut inscribed SIHT, Hauberg attributes this piece to Lund in Scania, suggesting that the moneyer used a Sigtuna die, but as with the former coins, so with the latter piece, I do not think that we should hastily reject a Swedish attribution. The absence of the Swedish title on the obverse counts for very little as, in this reign, the territorial title was commonly omitted on Harthacnut's coins both of England and Denmark. The question therefore arises whether Harthacnut had any jurisdiction, for a time, in Sweden. The evidence for this is very scanty apart from the coins, but I would suggest the possibility that when Harthacnut was invested with the kingship of Denmark at the congress of Nidaros, now Trondheim, after the subjection of Norway in A.D. 1028, the dignity carried with it the suggested newly-acquired overlordship of

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Cnut the Great over part of Sweden. The sagas describe Harthacnut's elevation as follows :—"Next he [Cnut] led his son Harthacnut to his own high seat, and gave him the kings-name with the government of the Danish realms."<sup>1</sup> The last word of this quotation being in the plural, is significant, although not conclusive, because Denmark was then divided into East and West Denmark. But as some support from the records to the above proposition, that Harthacnut was invested with the kingship of Sweden as well as that of Denmark, we have the fact that the before-mentioned compact between Harthacnut and Magnus of Norway was made on Swedish soil. The type of the coin also is substantially that of the contemporary issue in Britain, and is similar to the last of the two Swedish types of Cnut. *See Fig. 7.* In common with the Swedish pieces of the latter, although worn, it is of good design and workmanship, with correct and regular, if abbreviated, inscriptions.

The following numismatic fact has also an important bearing on the coin of Harthacnut under discussion, as well as on those of Cnut previously treated. It is that after the initial Swedish coinage of Olaf Skötkonung and his son, Anund Jacob, there ensued a period in which no coins were, so far as is known, struck by native Swedish princes. Hans Hildebrand attributes this absence of native coins to the general state of the land, because "through favourable circumstances the Swedish nation had entered into the domain of history, but that it was not really ripe for this important advance, and no sooner did the special circumstances which favoured it disappear than it relapsed into a condition that must be referred to as prehistoric."<sup>2</sup> So far as the beginning of this time is concerned, might not a contributory cause of this absence of coins of Swedish kings be, that the house of Biorn Ironside, of which the greatest member was Olaf Skötkonung, was overshadowed by the Danish house of Gorm, in the person and deeds of Cnut the Great ?

Having regard to all the circumstances, therefore, there appears every probability that the coin under discussion indicates that

<sup>1</sup> Snorri Sturlason, *Saga of St. Olaf*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Industrial Arts of Scandinavia in the Pagan Time*, p. 104-105.

Harthacnut possessed some sovereign influence in Sweden, for a time, which has otherwise failed record. As in the case of Cnut, so in that of Harthacnut, our materials for elucidating the history of the period are very scanty and their coins should, accordingly, form a not unimportant part in its composition. At least it is certain that the penny of Harthacnut which has been under discussion has no further right to a place in the list of Anglo-Saxon mints.





## THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS OF HARTHACNUT.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

**T**O the student who consults the two chief works of reference relating to the English coins of Harthacnut, the striking feature which presents itself is that so many Anglian types have been attributed to a reign which was one of the shortest in this country's history.

The first of these works is Hildebrand's comprehensive *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Royal Cabinet of Coins and Medals in Stockholm*, 1881. The second is the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the British Museum*, vol. ii, 1893. Both works give nine types to the reign with their varieties. It should be mentioned, however, that, from his remarks on the types, it seems that Hildebrand had some hesitation in ascribing the bulk of the different issues to England, and he clearly states that only his Types A and B are perfectly normal English types. On the other hand, in the introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue*, p. xcii, it is stated that "we need not question that the types described by Hildebrand are English," although in the catalogue itself the authors indicate that one of their types, together with a variety of another, may be Danish copies of English coins, and they further exclude, altogether, one of *Hildebrand's* types on the plea that it is Danish, p. 321.

From these remarks it will readily be seen that the published English issues of Harthacnut are the subject of considerable confusion and uncertainty, and it may at once be stated that before it is possible to be constructive it is necessary to be destructive. In other words, it will be incumbent upon us to review the claims to an English place of the published types and, where it is warranted, to sweep them away from the Saxon series.

In an examination of the actual coins of Harthacnut, or of their descriptions, the outstanding feature is that there are only three distinct issues of which coins have come down to us in any appreciable quantity. They are *Hildebrand's* Types A, A *var. a*, and B, corresponding, in the *British Museum Catalogue*, with Types I, I *var. a* and II, and it may be regarded as an axiom that these three are Anglo-Saxon issues, see Figs. 13, 16 and 17. The other published types are each represented by very few coins indeed, in some cases by one specimen only. There are none of these exceptional types or their varieties in the *British Museum Catalogue*, and it is believed that in no instance have they been found in this country.

It may be thought that the rarity of the coins of these so-called types can be accounted for by the earth failing as yet to yield a hidden store of specimens, but having regard to the many thousands of coins of our Danish kings which have come to us in finds, amongst which only the few coins of these types known have been present, it seems hardly probable that the proportion will be greater in hoards of the future. The conclusion is forced upon us that Harthacnut was responsible for three Anglo-Saxon issues only, and having regard to the length of the reign in this country, even this number involved re-coinage at remarkably frequent intervals.

The coins as to the English attribution of which doubt arises are given by *Hildebrand* as Types B *var. a*, C, D, F, G, G *var. a*, G *var. b*, H, H *var. a*, H *var. b*, I *var. a*, and E. In the *British Museum Catalogue* they correspond with Types II *var. a*, III, IV, V, VI, VI *var. a*, VI *var. b*, VIII, VIII *var. a*, IX and VII *var. a*, respectively. *Hildebrand's* Type E is excluded from the *British Museum Catalogue*.

In the mint-inscriptions of the doubtful Anglo-Saxon coins a very noticeable feature is in evidence. It is that the bulk of the specimens—sixteen out of the nineteen described in *Hildebrand*—discloses a mint-name which has been considered to indicate London. The significance of this feature will be at once apparent when it is stated, first, that the important city of Lund in Scania, part of the King's

continental dominions from which money is well known to have emanated in a plentiful degree, would be inscribed on coins in much the same way as in the case of London, then *Lunden*<sup>1</sup>; secondly, there are more undoubted coins known of this town of Lund than of any minting place of Harthacnut in Britain and, thirdly, the latter country having had a coinage for centuries would be less liable to issue a large number of aberrations than would be the case with Denmark which, but a few years before, had no native coinage, and which would therefore be more likely to be the home of curious and imitative types, as, indeed, is known to have been the case.

The remarkable feature referred to is, therefore, almost of itself sufficient to justify a transference of the unique or excessively rare types to Lund in Scania, rather than to allow them to remain attributed to London in Britain, but as one or two other mint-names are in evidence on them, and as it is desirable to bring the matter to a final issue, they will now be reviewed in all their aspects.

Before, however, considering the question of the doubtful Anglo-Saxon types it should be stated that a York coin, which alone constitutes Type I in *Hildebrand* and Type VII in the *British Museum Catalogue*, is incorrectly engraved and attributed in both works. The cast, kindly furnished to me by the Keeper of the Royal Cabinet of Coins in Stockholm, where the coin now is, clearly shows that the obverse reading is +NAPERD ERL, Fig. 1, the initial cross being to the left of the helmet.



FIG. 1.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, INCORRECTLY ASCRIBED BY HILDEBRAND TO HARTHACNUT. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

After the D there is some indication of an upright stroke, but it may be two pellets coalesced. This coin can, therefore, be no other

<sup>1</sup> For example, Lundenburg in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, anno 851.

than a York penny of Edward the Confessor. It is similar to Type D *var. a*, in Hildebrand's arrangement of the Confessor's coins, Fig. 2.



FIG. 2.—PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR OF THE SAME TYPE AS FIG. 1.  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

On the obverse of the former is a helmeted bust to the left with sceptre, and on the reverse the letters **PACX** in the angles of a short double cross, with an annulet in one quarter—Fig. 2, being of the Oxford mint, is, of course, without the annulet. The presence of the annulet in the third quarter of the reverse cross of Fig. 1 is additional evidence of the correct appropriation of the coin to Edward the Confessor, since this was a feature not generally introduced on York coins until the reign of that king. Indeed, it is entirely unknown on the coins of this city in the Anglo-Danish period.

With regard to the irregular form of the king's name, it should be mentioned that such irregularity was extremely common on otherwise well-executed specimens of Edward's money, especially in the early issues. The alien N may possibly be said to be a difficulty, but this letter is very frequently in evidence in Edward's name on the coins, including the initial place, see *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate 26, No. 3, also No. 1537 in the descriptive list, which also is a coin of the **PACX** issue. On reference to the Confessor's coins in *Hildebrand*, we find a piece of the same variety and mint, reading **NDPR REX AE**. The form of the title, **ERC**, for **REX**, on the coin under notice, is also curious, but the **E** as the initial letter is a feature not uncommon on other coins of Edward. The following readings with **E** in the initial place are in evidence, **E**, **EX**, **EE** and **E+I**.

A further error in *Hildebrand's Catalogue* consists of an incorrect description of the type of the two Derby coins given in the list of mints, and in the summary. Instead of Type B *var. a*, the coins should have been shown as of Type B, see Figs. 3 and 4.



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—PENNIES OF HARTHACNUT OF THE DERBY MINT,  
INCORRECTLY DESCRIBED BY HILDEBRAND. ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

The above illustrations, from casts of the actual coins, clearly show the characteristic sceptre of Type B—see Fig. 17—which Type B *var. a*, Fig. 5, is without, but the coins form slight unintentional varieties in so far as the arm and hand of Type B are wanting in the coin represented by Fig. 3, and most of the arm in that delineated by Fig. 4. The die-sinker evidently misjudged his distance, thus causing these details to be crowded out, wholly or in part.

Whilst on the subject of errors of description, mention may be made of a coin described and illustrated in the Montagu and Murdoch sale catalogues as of the reign of Harthacnut. It is identical in type with *Hildebrand's* I *var. b* of Cnut, corresponding with Type XIX in the *British Museum Catalogue*. For our present purpose we are concerned only with the obverse legend. In the *Montagu Catalogue*, second portion, lot 118, it is given as: +HRNENVTIEMTI. In the *Murdoch Catalogue*, first portion, lot 148, it is printed: +HRNENVTIENTI, and from these two readings it will be seen that some uncertainty existed in the minds of the cataloguers as to how the inscription should be read. An examination of the illustrations fully justifies this uncertainty; but however obscure some of the letters may be, the initial stands out with absolute clearness, especially in the first-named catalogue, and it discloses not an H, but an N. Although the H of this period is often struck like an N, this forms no real reason for showing H in the descriptions instead of N, especially in the case of a doubtful coin.

After a close examination of both illustrations I feel convinced that a more probable reading of the whole inscription is +NRNENVTIENTI, and that the coin is not one of Harthacnut at all, but of his father, Cnut. Amidst a great crowd of hybrid forms of the obverse legends

on numerous coins of Cnut, the above inscription loses its strangeness and excites little comment. These forms include such inscriptions as: +NENDNVT REIC, *Hildebrand*, No. 2128, and further remark seems unnecessary.

Having now removed those errors of description which, whilst left uncorrected, rendered a satisfactory treatment of the real Anglo-Saxon types of Harthacnut impracticable, the way is clear to consider the question of the doubtful English issues.

A comparative examination of these doubtful coins causes me to think that their designs are divisible into three sections: first, purely Danish; second, mixed Danish and imitative Saxon; and third, purely imitative Saxon.

One type only can be placed in the first category, that is, *Hildebrand's* E. As before mentioned, this type is excluded by the compilers of the *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, vol. ii, and justly so, since the designs, both of obverse and reverse, are essentially Danish. I have not been able to obtain a cast of this coin for illustration but, to take the reverse first, we find a composition resembling four open kidney-shaped ornaments with a pellet between each, and another in the centre. This design is unknown on undoubted Anglo-Saxon types, but it is in evidence on Danish money of Cnut the Great and it is also common on silver pendants frequently found in Gothland and continental Scandinavia.

The type is represented in Stockholm by one coin only, and the reverse reading of this is +ASLÆ ON LWDEIO. A similar coin in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen discloses the same inscription. In the series of undoubted Saxon coins, the name Aslac appears to be known only on a few examples of Cnut, under Lincoln. It is not known on coins of Harold I., Harthacnut's immediate predecessor in England, but it does occur on the money of his two immediate successors in Denmark, viz., Magnus the Good and Sven Estridson; in both reigns, appearing on coins of Lund.

Adverting now to the obverse, we find a helmeted bust totally dissimilar from that on any undoubted Saxon coins, but which is absolutely



identical with some undeniable Danish pieces clearly struck at Gori, as well as in Lund. The inscription reads +HAR . . . . . ðECNV. It is pointed out by Hildebrand that the form of the king's name on Anglo-Saxon coins is usually Harthacnut, and on Danish money Harthecnut, and it will be observed that the piece under notice discloses the Danish spelling. Having regard to all the evidence, there can be really no doubt that *Hildebrand's* Type E must be transferred to Lund in Scania.

A consideration of the above type leads naturally to the second section of doubtful Anglo-Saxon coins, comprising those issues of mixed Danish and imitative Saxon designs. It does so because the obverse design of *Hildebrand's* Type E is identical, in all respects, with the obverses of the two types or varieties included in this section, and it seems hardly necessary to state that if Type E should be transferred to Lund, the other issues with similar obverses must also follow. These latter types are given by *Hildebrand* as H *var. b* and I *var. a*. In the *British Museum Catalogue* they appear as Types IX and VII *var. a* respectively, but in the descriptive section they are only doubtfully attributed to England. The inscriptions on the obverse of these coins vary but slightly from that of *Hildebrand's* Type E, and they are absolutely identical with each other, indeed, they appear to have been struck from the same dies. The inscription is +HAR'N . . . . . ðECN and we therefore see again the Danish form of the king's name.

Referring to the reverses, that of *Hildebrand's* Type H *var. b* is identical with the reverse of one of the well-known issues of Harold I., given by Hildebrand as Type B in his arrangement of the coins of that king. Having regard to the obverse being Danish it may reasonably be assumed that the reverse is merely a copy of one of the coins of Harold I.

There are two specimens of the type under discussion in the Stockholm collection, with the following reverse readings :—

+ANCETL ON LVD  
+ARNCETL ON LVI

These disclose a Danish moneyer's name which, although known on undoubted Anglo-Saxon coins of York, Stamford and Nottingham, is also found on Danish coins struck by Magnus the Good, the successor

of Harthacnut. The form of the mint-name is most unusual for London, but it is common on undoubted coins of Lund.

In the Royal Collection at Copenhagen there is a similar coin to those under discussion with the reverse reading of **+NITASCOD ON L**. This moneyer's name is quite unknown on Anglo-Saxon money of the period, but it is in evidence on the Danish coins of Magnus the Good, as also on those of Harthacnut, and it therefore further strengthens the attribution of the Arnctel coins to Lund in Scania.

The reverse of the second variety in this section, namely, *Hildebrand's* Type I *var. a*, *British Museum Catalogue*, Type VII *var. a*, exhibits a long double cross with the letters **PACX** in the angles. As before mentioned the obverse leaves no room for doubt that the coin is Danish, and there seems therefore to be no other conclusion than that the reverse design is an imitation of the variety of Cnut, with which it is identical.

Although *pacx*-, *paxs*-, or *pax*-type coins are in evidence in this country, of the reigns of Edward the Confessor, Harold II., William the Conqueror and Henry I., they are also known on undoubted continental coinages, as, for instance, on those of Magnus the Good.

The reverse inscription on the single specimen of *Hildebrand's* Type I *var. a* in the Swedish Royal Collection reads: **+ARNCTEL ON LVI**, and as this is the same moneyer's name as that on the type previously treated it is unnecessary to say anything further about it.

We now come to the third section consisting of coins of which both obverse and reverse are in imitation of Anglo-Saxon money. As the obverses of the first three are similar to one another they will be treated together. These three issues are given in *Hildebrand* as Type B *var. a*, our Fig. 5; C, and G, our Fig. 6; and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Types II *var. a*, III and VI respectively.



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—DANISH PENNIES HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ENGLAND.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

The obverses, although somewhat similar to a type initiated by Cnut, more nearly resemble the first issue of Harold I., Fig. 7.



FIG. 7.—PENNY OF HAROLD I. H. A. PARSONS.

Of Type B *var. a* there are three specimens described in *Hildebrand*, and of Types C and G, one of each. The obverse inscriptions on all are exactly the same, and it will be seen that they read :  
+ HAR : + ENVT +.

The reverse of *Hildebrand's* Type B *var. a* discloses a copy of the well-known Anglo-Saxon design initiated by Cnut, Fig. 8, in evidence on a rare mule-coin of Harold I., and repeated in Harthacnut's most common Saxon issue, Fig. 17.



FIG. 8.—PENNY OF CNUT. H. A. PARSONS.

The readings on the three coins of *Hildebrand* B *var. a* in Stockholm are :—

+ALFPINE ON LVDI  
+OÐENCARL ON LV  
+VLFCETL ON LVDI

All three moneyers are in evidence on Danish coins issued both before and after the reign of Harthacnut. Othencarl is, indeed, known only on coins of Denmark ; for those of this moneyer given in *Hildebrand* to Athelred II. and Cnut belong to that country. The form of the mint-name, LVDI, also points to Lund in Scania.

The reverse of *Hildebrand's* Type C is a copy of the very common design on Anglo-Saxon money of a small cross within the inner circle. The one coin of this type in Stockholm reads : ðVREIL ON LVDI ••

It is absolutely identical with the reverses of two coins of Cnut, given by Hildebrand as Types A *var. b* and A *var. c* in his arrangement of the coins of that king. This moneyer's name is, it is true, in evidence on some Wilton coins of Edward the Confessor, but it is otherwise known only on coins of Denmark in the late Saxon period, those given in *Hildebrand* to Athelred II. and Cnut being continental.

We see again the Danish form of the mint-name, and there can be no hesitation in withdrawing the coin from the Anglo-Saxon series.

The reverse of *Hildebrand's* Type G, our Fig. 6, presents considerably more difficulty than was the case with the preceding coins; not because of the design, which is similar to one of Cnut's common issues, our Fig. 9, but in view of the inscription which reads: +ALFRIC



FIG. 9.—PENNY OF CNUT. H. A. PARSONS.

ON LINCOL. At first sight this appears to be a coin of Lincoln, the mint-name being clear, and the moneyer's name, Saxon. The identity of the obverse with those of the four preceding coins does not, however, admit of an attribution to Lincoln, and the difficulty of reconciling this with the theory of Danish origin is considerably lessened when one calls to mind the very intimate relation that seems to have existed between Lincoln and the courts of the northern kings, a connection which is indicated by the existence of coins of Magnus the Good—who never had any status in England—reading :—

+ΘINDI ON LINE  
+LEFPINE ON LINEO  
+LEFPINE ON L·NEOL

This intimate relationship is proved by the passage in *Ordericus* which, under the year 1103, states that a rich citizen of Lincoln kept the treasure of the King of Norway and supplied him with ornaments, plate, arms and furniture, and whatever else the service of the king

required. The existence of the Alfric coin under notice can be explained in one of three ways. First, that a Danish moneyer manufactured a reverse die, the design and inscription on which were copied exactly from an Anglo-Saxon coin of Cnut of the Lincoln mint. Second, that an old reverse die from Lincoln was in existence at the time at Lund, and was used in conjunction with a locally made obverse die. Third, that a Lincoln moneyer of the name of Alfric was employed in Harthacnut's mint in Denmark, and engraved his name and native place on a new reverse stamp.

A glance at the illustration, Fig. 6, will, it is thought, effectually dispose of the first possible explanation, and the second is much weakened by the non-existence, so far as I know, of any coins of Cnut of the same design and reading. The third explanation is the most feasible, and it is strengthened by the fact that, although an Alfric is in evidence on Cnut's early issues at Lincoln, the name is unknown on his later types and is absent on those of the intermediate king, Harold I. The name also fails to appear at that mint on undoubted Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut.

Another coin, Fig. 10, in this section of imitative money has a reverse struck from the same die as that of the piece just explained, Fig. 6, and the remarks made about the latter are equally applicable to it, for both are thus, as it were, tied together. Consideration will, therefore, be limited to the obverse of the coin in question, which is given in *Hildebrand* as Type G *var. b*, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type VI *var. b*, see Fig. 10.



FIG. 10.—DANISH PENNY HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ENGLAND.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

This coin discloses an imitation of the common "pointed helmet" type of Cnut, Fig. 11, and the obverse inscription is given in



FIG. 11.—PENNY OF CNUT. H. A. PARSONS.

*Hildebrand* as +ARTD+CNVT+. On examining a cast of the coin it would appear that the letters R T D are much blurred and scarcely decipherable. Except for these letters, the impression is identical with a Danish coin of Cnut given in *Hildebrand* as Type I *var. c* and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type XVIII of the coins of that king. Indeed, the letters NLO of the coin of Cnut appear to be more in evidence than the supposed letters R T D of *Hildebrand's* work.

A comparison of Figs. 10 and 11 will show that the execution of the coin we are considering, Fig. 10, is much inferior to that of the true Anglo-Saxon coins of Cnut of the same type, Fig. 11, and, apart from the question whether the former is a coin of Cnut or of Harthacnut, it is undoubtedly a Danish copy of two Saxon types.

By easy transition we are now led to a consideration of a further variety in this section of imitation Saxon coins. It alone comprises *Hildebrand's* Type F, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* is described as Type V, our Fig. 12.

FIG. 12.—DANISH PENNY HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ENGLAND.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

It discloses an imitative obverse design of the same character as that on Fig. 10. The legend, however, on this coin is unmistakably +H·A·R·E·CNVTR·, from which it will be seen that the characteristic Danish E in the spelling of the king's name is in evidence.

The reverse is similar to that normal type of Cnut, Fig. 11, from which the obverse was copied, and the inscription reads: +OVDEEL ON LVND·. The moneyer is unknown on Anglo-Saxon coins.

The next issue in this section to be considered is placed in *Hildebrand* as Type G *var. a*, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type VI *var. a*. It is an imitation of Cnut's Anglo-Saxon Type H, our Fig. 9. The reverse readings are :

+OSBRN ON SITVN  
+ALFVARD ON LV  
+OÐÐENCAR ON LVDI  
+VLFCETL ON LVNDE

The first reading has been fully explained in my preceding article in this volume, entitled "Some Coins of Sigtuna inscribed with the Names of Æthelred, Cnut, and Harthacnut," and nothing further need be said on the subject here. The remarks under Fig. 5 on the moneyers Othencarl and Ulfcetel may be applied to the last two coins, leaving the reading +ALFVARD ON LV alone to be considered. This moneyer, although not unknown on Anglo-Saxon coins, is in evidence on the money of a long series of Danish kings and, having regard to the appropriation of the other coins of the same design to foreign mints, this must also follow.

The next of the series of imitations of Saxon coins is described in *Hildebrand* as Type D and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type IV. It is represented in the *Stockholm Catalogue* by one example only, but, unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain a cast of the coin for illustration. Its prototype is to be found in the well-known CRVX issue of Ethelred II., and a comparison of a specimen of the latter with the illustration of the former in *Hildebrand's Catalogue* will at once show the inferiority of the copy. Reference to the reverse inscription discloses the reading: +ASLAC ON LVND: and as I have already discussed this moneyer and his mint, no further remarks are necessary concerning the coin.

The last issue of these imitative Saxon coins is presented in *Hildebrand* as Type H *var. a*, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* as Type VIII *var. a*. It alone of all the copies we have reviewed includes a specimen undoubtedly emanating from a Saxon mint. This will, however, not be so much a matter for surprise when it is pointed out that the prototype is the last coinage of Harold. The coin in

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question was issued from Norwich, but as it will find a place amongst the true Saxon types and varieties to be presently treated, it will not be further mentioned here. The appropriation of a specimen of this type to an English mint might be supposed to lead to the conclusion that the other coins of the same general design should be given to this country also, but the legends on the two remaining specimens known of the issue point strongly against such a supposition. The readings are :

1. *Obverse*.— +NARÐECNV  
*Reverse*.— +ALPARD ON LVDI *Hildebrand*, No. 105.
2. *Obverse*.— +NARÐECNV  
*Reverse*.— +TOEI ON LVDIFELAI *Hildebrand*, No. 143.

It will be observed that the obverse legends on the two coins are exactly the same, and they exhibit the characteristic Danish E which is not the case in the Norwich example. In a footnote Hildebrand also shows that the inscriptions commence in a different position to that on the Norwich coin.

The reverse legends disclose the Danish form of Lund, and in regard to the moneyers' names, the first may be said to be a corruption of Alfward, a coiner who has already been discussed, and the remarks then made apply equally to this case. The second name, TOEI, is unknown on Anglo-Saxon coins of the period in that form, although TOGA and TOEA are in evidence on some Anglo-Saxon pieces of Ethelred II. and Cnut. On the other hand, the name is well known on undoubted Danish coins from Cnut the Great to Cnut the Holy, and having regard to all the facts, there can be no doubt that the last two coins should be attributed to Denmark.

The doubtful types illustrated in *Ruding* on Plates D, E and H, and subsequently referred to in Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, have been adequately shown by Hildebrand to belong to Denmark, and although in the 1887 edition of *Hawkins* no cognizance of the matter is taken, it is not thought that the coins need here be further discussed. With the conclusions of *Hildebrand* I entirely agree. Before, however, closing this section of the subject, reference should be made to

the coin which *Hawkins* constitutes his Type 1. Judging from the description, this would appear to be a Danish coin similar to Fig. 15, Plate IV, in Hauberg's *Myntforhold og Udmintninger i Danmark, undtil 1146*.<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed on reference to a note contributed by its original owner, the Rev. T. F. Dymock, to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vii.

Another coin referred to in *Hawkins* should also be mentioned here. It is described under Harold I. as Type 5, and is placed in the *British Museum Catalogue* under the same king as Type III. The legends are :

*Obverse*.— +NAREII + RE  
*Reverse*.— +OVÐNEAR ON LV

In reference to this piece *Hildebrand* says, "this coin belongs, without doubt, to Harthacnut and not to Harold." With this opinion I am disposed to concur, but whatever doubt there may be of the king to whom the coin belongs, there is none whatever regarding the place whence it was issued, as the name of the moneyer, Othencarl, clearly proves it to have been struck at Lund in Scania.

In concluding my remarks on these doubtful Anglo-Saxon types, it should be stated that Hauberg has also placed the bulk of the coins to Lund in Scania, but the matter has here been considered more fully and, to a large extent, independently.

Having cleared the ground of those coins which have hitherto, in some works of reference relating to Anglo-Saxon coins, been erroneously attributed to England, I will now proceed to a description of the true Saxon types and varieties of Harthacnut's reign in the order in which I think they were circulated, and under the dates of their issue. The reasons for the sequence and dates will appear later.

<sup>1</sup> Edition, 1900.

FIRST REGNAL PERIOD, A.D. 1035 TO 1037.

TYPE I ; *Hildebrand A* ; *British Museum Catalogue I.*

FIG. 13.—HARTHACNUT'S FIRST TYPE OF THE FIRST REGNAL PERIOD. H. A. PARSONS.

*Obverse.*—Helmeted bust to left, mantled.*Reverse.*—A cross formed of four ovals ; their bases united by circles enclosing a pellet.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1036.

The example illustrated as Fig. 13 reads: *Obverse* :—+H·ARÐACNVT : ; *Reverse* :— +LEOFPINE ON DOF ••

Mints represented :—

Axport.	Dover.	Wallingford.
Bath.	Exeter.	Winchester.
Bristol.	London.	

INTERREGNUM, MARCH TO JUNE, 1040.

Mule-type, Harthacnut—Harold, *Hildebrand H* ; *British Museum Catalogue VIII.*FIG. 14.—HARTHACNUT'S TYPE MULED WITH HAROLD'S.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.*Obverse.*—Helmeted bust to left, mantled, as before.*Reverse.*—Long cross, voided, the limbs united by a circle enclosing a pellet : in each of the angles, a fleur-de-lis terminating in pellets.The example illustrated as Fig. 14 reads: *Obverse* :—+HARÐACNVT R ; *Reverse* :— +GODRIC ON LVN.

Mint represented :—London.

IMITATION OF LAST ISSUE OF HAROLD I.

Imitation type, *Hildebrand H var. a*; *British Museum Catalogue VIII var. a.*



FIG. 15.—HARTHACNUT'S TYPE IMITATED FROM HAROLD'S.  
ROYAL CABINET, STOCKHOLM.

*Obverse.*—Helmeted bust to left, armoured; a sceptre in front.

*Reverse.*—Long cross, voided, the limbs united by a circle enclosing a pellet. A pellet at the end of each limb of the cross. In each of the angles a fleur-de-lis.

The example illustrated as Fig. 15 reads : *Obverse* :— +HÆCENV  
T REX ; *Reverse* :— +RINCVLF ON NOR.

Mint represented : Norwich.

SECOND REGNAL PERIOD, A.D. 1040 TO 1042.

TYPE I ; *Hildebrand A var. a*; *British Museum Catalogue I var. a.*



FIG. 16.—HARTHACNUT'S FIRST TYPE OF THE SECOND REGNAL PERIOD.  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

*Obverse.*—Helmeted bust to right, mantled.

*Reverse.*—A cross formed of four ovals, their bases united by circles enclosing a pellet, as Fig. 13.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1040.

The example illustrated, Fig. 16, reads : *Obverse* :— +HARÐENVT  
RE ; *Reverse* :— +DÐERPINNE ON EO :

Mints represented :—

Axport.	Guildford.	Salisbury.
Bath.	Hastings.	Shaftesbury.
Bristol.	Ilchester.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	Lewes.	Steyning.
Chichester.	Lincoln.	Warwick.
Dorchester.	London.	Watchet.
Dover.	Malmesbury.	Winchester.
Exeter.	Oxford.	Witham.
Gloucester.	Rochester.	York.

TYPE 2 ; *Hildebrand B ; British Museum Catalogue II.*



FIG. 17.—HARTHACNUT'S SECOND TYPE OF THE SECOND REGNAL PERIOD.  
BRITISH MUSEUM.

*Obverse*.—Helmeted bust to left, mantled. A sceptre, held by the left hand, in front.

*Reverse*.—Over a short voided cross, a quadrilateral ornament with a pellet on each point, and another in the centre. The whole within an inner circle.

Probable date of issue, A.D. 1041.

The example illustrated as Fig. 17 reads : *Obverse* :— +HARÐENVT ; *Reverse* :— +ÆGELPINE ON OXA :

Mints represented :—

Bedford.	Huntingdon.	Shrewsbury.
Bristol.	Ilchester.	Southampton.
Buckingham.	Ipswich.	Southwark.
Cambridge.	Langport.	Stamford.
Canterbury.	Leicester.	Taunton.
Chester.	Lincoln.	Thetford.
Cricklade.	London.	Wallingford.
Derby.	Malmesbury.	Wareham.
Dorchester.	Norwich.	Wilton.
Dover.	Nottingham.	Winchcombe.
Exeter.	Oxford.	Winchester.
Gloucester.	Shaftesbury.	Worcester.
Hereford.		

The events which occurred in England immediately after the death of Cnut, in A.D. 1035, are of considerable importance to an elucidation of the initial coinage of Harthacnut, and its extent. Unfortunately, some of the records recount the story of the election of a successor with much contradiction and confusion, but our own chronicles are the best guides, and from them it transpires that the provision in the will of the late king, that Harthacnut should succeed to the throne of England, was supported by Earl Godwine and the West Saxons, but the men of the North advanced a candidate in the person of Harold, the son of Cnut and Ælfgifu. The Witan of the whole country met in full council at Oxford in the winter of A.D. 1035, and there Godwine strove, with all the eloquence of which he was a master, to persuade the assembly to acquiesce in the late king's choice. He was only partially successful, since the Witan resolved, on the proposition of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, to divide the kingdom between the two candidates: Harold to reign over the North, and Harthacnut to take the South. London appears mainly to have sided with the South since, according to the *Peterborough Chronicle*, only a small part, the "lithsmen," or seafaring folk, declared for Harold. In the absence of Harthacnut in Denmark, his mother, Queen Emma,

appears to have been appointed to, or to have assumed, what we should term a regency, whilst Godwine still continued, as Earl of Wessex, to administer the affairs of the southern kingdom under the queen. Harthacnut, hindered in Denmark by his war with Magnus of Norway, was not at once in a position to enter into his kingdom, and the impatience of the West Saxons caused them, in A.D. 1037, to forsake Harthacnut "because he stayed too long in Denmark." This decision being confirmed by a vote of the Witan of all England, Harold was called, by universal choice, to the throne of the reunited kingdom.

The question now arises whether Harthacnut's brief reign over Southern England from A.D. 1035 to A.D. 1037 was marked by the issue of a coinage in his name. I think there can be little doubt that if a new coinage was initiated before A.D. 1037 the authorities of Southern England would have issued the money in the name of their specially chosen monarch, and not in that of the king of the northern part of the country. This is self-evident. The difficulty is to show that a new coinage was initiated before A.D. 1037. Direct proof is, at present, not possible, and one can deal only with the probabilities of the case. In the first place there was nothing in the state of the country at the time to prevent an immediate issue of a new coinage. Had this been a period of war or disorder, one can readily understand that a fresh general issue might be deferred, as was no doubt the case when Cnut himself ascended the throne of England. But for many years prior to the death of Cnut this country had enjoyed absolute peace and prosperity, and upon that event there was nothing to prevent an immediate recoinage if such a course had been conceived to be desirable. Although not absolutely necessary, the election of a new king, especially a disputed election, would render an immediate recoinage desirable. Secondly, the last type of Cnut, *Hildebrand K*, *British Museum Catalogue* XX, will be found to be of very considerable rarity. The scarcity of a type may, of course, be due to the "accident" of treasure trove, but such was not the case in this instance because, in the very numerous finds containing coins of Cnut, the number of specimens of this type is consistently small, or is

not represented at all. By analogy it is unlikely that the finds of the future will show any considerably greater percentage of coins of Type K than the finds of the past. In other words, there seems to be no doubt that the present proportion of Type K to the other types of Cnut will not materially alter, or at least will not change to an extent that will make it as plentiful as the coins of the common types of Cnut shown by *Hildebrand* as E, G and H and in the *British Museum Catalogue*, as Types VIII, XIV and XVI. It should perhaps be mentioned that the finds of this period very frequently contain a large number of types of several kings. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find together coins of all the monarchs from Ethelred II. to Edward the Confessor, the earlier being sometimes as plentifully represented as the later types.

The consistent rarity of Type K of Cnut in the finds must therefore, I think, be accepted to show that it was in operation for a very short time, and it is highly probable that not only was it initiated at the close of the reign, but that it ceased immediately, or almost immediately, after the death of Cnut. At least that seems to be the natural corollary. Admitting this deduction, it is highly probable that a new coinage was instituted before the period during which the kingdom was divided had expired. Such a coinage will, it is thought, be found represented in my Type I of the first regnal period. See Fig. 13 above. The existence of this type would be difficult to explain except by the assumption that it is an issue of the time when Harthacnut reigned jointly with his half-brother Harold, but the possibility of such a coinage appears hitherto to have passed unnoticed. It is placed by Hildebrand as the first substantive type of what I have termed the second regnal period, and he is followed by the authors of the *British Museum Catalogue*, with the result that they are thereby forced into the anomaly of showing, as a variety, an issue of coins which is of more frequent occurrence than the main type. This anomaly would be disposed of by making both issues substantive types. Objectors might of course quote the "accident of the find" to account for the anomaly, but any such suggestion would be answered by the facts quoted in connection with the rarity of Type K of Cnut, which



conditions equally apply to all the coinages of Harold and Harthacnut. The difference in the two varieties of coins in question consists in the busts engraved on the obverses, the one being in an opposite direction to the other, see Figs. 13 and 16. That such difference was not an uncommon form of variation in the Anglo-Danish period is admitted, and that in all other cases it marked a variation simply, and not a distinct issue, is abundantly evident from the extreme rarity of the varieties as compared with the types. But in the coinage in question the one issue is half as numerous as the other, and the difference in the way the busts are turned cannot, therefore, be attributed to accident or fancy as in the case of other variations of the same order. Now the type of Harthacnut, Fig. 13, is the same as the last type of Cnut, whereas the resemblance of the similar design of Harold, Fig. 7, is not always quite so precise. These coins of Harthacnut and Harold of the same general design as the last type of Cnut are therefore, I think, most reasonably accounted for by their issue at the same time, more especially as, although, after Harold's death, Harthacnut reigned over all England for twenty-four months only, two other very distinct issues are left to fill that short space of time. The conclusion is that Cnut initiated the type and, soon after his death, it was continued contemporaneously by both Harthacnut and Harold.

But it would, after all, be useless to argue on the probabilities of the case unless the coins themselves, in their mints, bear testimony to their allotted time of issue. Let us therefore examine the coinage in question with regard to the mints of which specimens are known. These mints are as follows :—Axford, Bath, Bristol, Dover, Exeter, London, Wallingford and Winchester. In addition, Hildebrand places a fragment of this type, on which the mint-name is missing, to Hereford, on the ground that the moneyer's name is similar, although not exactly so, to that on a Hereford coin of Harold I. But the same name appears on coins of Cnut under three other towns, including London, and no argument can therefore be based on the moneyer's name alone ; indeed the probabilities are in favour of the London mint. Another specimen of this type is assigned by Hildebrand to Stamford, but the obverse inscription is obscure, and that on the reverse is blundered in

the mint-name. It may not be a coin of Harthacnut at all, and if it is, it is no doubt one of the numerous imitations struck in Denmark, or elsewhere abroad.

It will be seen that all the undoubted mints are situated in Wessex, or upon or south of the line of the Thames—that is, within Harthacnut's division of the country. Further, they were not planted in any particular part of the south but were located at all points, from the extreme east to the confines of the west. It is true that the number of mints is not large, but it must be remembered that the Anglo-Saxon coins of Harthacnut are all very rare, not even excepting those of London, and no doubt the fact that he was absent abroad during the whole period of this particular issue had some influence on the matter. The mints in evidence represent, however, in the main, very important and centrally situated cities and towns.

In default of the explanation that *Hildebrand Type A*, *British Museum Catalogue Type I*, was issued during Harthacnut's contemporaneous rule with Harold, no satisfactory reason would be forthcoming to account for the absence of coins of this type from mints north of the Thames, especially Lincoln. Next to London, Lincoln was responsible for the largest output of coins in the Anglo-Danish period. The absence of any of this type from the northern mints must be accounted for most feasibly by the explanation that Harthacnut had no authority in that part of the country when the type in question was put into circulation. Such a time occurred during his first regnal period, and then only.

The unique "mule" coin, which is shown as Fig. 14, is confirmatory evidence of the early issue of *Hildebrand Type A*, *British Museum Catalogue Type I*. I think it probable that it was struck in the interval between Harold's death, on the 17th of March, 1040, and Harthacnut's accession to the whole kingdom in the following June, whilst the latter was still abroad at Bruges, in Flanders, where he was, after long delay, on his way to dispute with his half-brother the possession of England. That he had partisans in this country upon whom he relied appears clear from the comparatively small force that he had collected to war against Harold, and from the fact that, on

the latter's death, he was unanimously elected to the vacant throne without his knowledge. It is not an unreasonable conjecture that the supporters of Harthacnut would at once take steps to have his name placed upon the coinage. The dies of his first issue were no doubt still in existence, and one of these was accordingly used for the obverse in conjunction with a reverse die of the type of Harold which was universally current at his death.

At this point the second unique coin, Fig. 15, should be considered. It might be argued that this piece is, in common with the two somewhat similar examples of Lund,<sup>1</sup> simply a Danish imitation, but I do not think the evidence is in support of such a view. The coin is of good Saxon work, of large size, and discloses the British form of the king's name. But more especially, the moneyer's name, RINCULF, is very uncommon, and is almost unknown on coins other than of the Norwich mint. On the money of this mint it is in evidence not merely before the time of Harthacnut, but also in the early types of Edward the Confessor, from which fact I think we must conclude that Rinculf was in England during the reign of Harthacnut. Amongst the issues known of this moneyer is the similar type of Harold I., and a close inspection of the actual coin of Harthacnut might possibly disclose that it is from a die of Harold's last issue, with the letters forming *HADACNVT REX* punched over those of *HAROLD REX*. Quite the most likely time for the issue of this imitation, or altered coin, is the interregnum between March and June, A.D. 1040, and we may confidently expect, in time, to see coins of this moneyer forthcoming of the issues of Harthacnut's second regnal period.

In the description of the types it will be seen that we have two issues, Figs. 16 and 17, to fit into this second regnal period. Fig. 16 is substantially the same as the issue of Harthacnut's first regnal period, Fig. 13. It differs from the latter in the bust, which is engraved to the right, instead of to the left. I think that this issue may safely be placed first, not only because it is, in general, similar to the preceding coinages, but by reason of the fact that the type which

<sup>1</sup> See p. 34.

thereby falls into the second position, Fig. 17, was continued by Edward the Confessor, and was the only type of Harthacnut continued by him.

Harthacnut's first act, after his arrival in England in June, 1040, was to wring a heavy tax from his new subjects to pay the Danes who had accompanied him from Flanders. It is only reasonable to conclude that the coins of this first type of his second regnal period were issued in the course of this payment, although I have no doubt that it was also largely made in former types of coins still in currency.

In regard to the time of issue of the remaining and last type, Fig. 17, I think it highly probable that the change took place in A.D. 1041, when another payment of Danegelt, larger than the first, was levied. At least it may be said that this is the most likely reason for a recoinage. There appears to have been no regular change of coin-types in the Anglo-Danish period, and this, it may be remarked, is common to the money of to-day. Expediency, or necessity, alone seemed to govern the question of the issue of another type, and the enormous payment demanded, amounting to over thirty-two thousand pounds, would certainly render the supply of new dies necessary, although it is probable that the coins of previous issues still in circulation, were also largely utilised. The fact that specimens of the second type are commoner—if such a word can be applied to the coins of Harthacnut—than those of the first, points in the same direction. In general the finds also tend to show that Type 2 is the last, because specimens of this issue are more in evidence in the deposits. At the same time it will be evident from the remarks already made that no great value can be attached, in this connection, to the record of finds. The axiom that has sometimes been adopted that the types of which specimens are most in evidence in the finds are the latest, cannot be applied to this period with safety since, were it carried out to its logical conclusion without reference to other sources of information, the order of the kings, and, in many cases, the types of the different monarchs, would be assumed to be exactly opposite to the sequence which we know, on historical or other grounds, to be correct. For this reason, amongst others, no good object would be served in

furnishing a list of the finds of coins of Harthacnut, but it is thought that sufficient evidence, in other directions, has been adduced to show, not only how many types were issued by that king, but when, and in what order.

#### THE ANGLO-SAXON COINS OF HARTHACNUT.

The following is a list of all the mint-readings which I have been able to collate :—

A = The first regnal period, 1035—1037.

B = The second regnal period, 1040—1042.

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	Axport <sup>1</sup> ...	1A	+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFRIC ON CAXNP
2		1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+GOLDA ON AXSAP <sup>2</sup>
3			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GOLD·CYTA ON CAX <sup>2</sup>
4			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFRIC ON CAXNP <sup>3</sup>
5			Unascertained.	+ . . . . . N CAXSA <sup>3, 4</sup>
6	Bath ...	1A	+HARÐACNVT RE	+PÆDEL ONN BAÐA
7		1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELMÆR ON BAÐ
8	Bedford ...	2B	+HARÐENVT R	+SPOT ON BEDEFO
9			+HARÐCVT RE	+SPOT ON BEDEVOR
10	Bristol ...	1A	Unascertained.	+LEO[FRIC ON] BRIC <sup>4</sup>
11		1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+HPATEMAN ON BR
12		2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON BRICS
13			Unascertained.	+ÆÐE[LPINE ON B]RYCS <sup>4</sup>
14			+HARÐACNV	+SÆPINE ON BRXIEST
15	Buckingham	2B	Unascertained.	+ [BRIHTPI]NE ON BVCIN <sup>4</sup>
16	Cambridge ...	2B	+HARÐENV	+ÆLFPIG ON GRANT
17			+HARÐACNVT	+GODSVNE ON GRANT

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
18	Canterbury ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON CANE
19			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLFRED ON CENT
20			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LÆFPI ONN CENT
21			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFFINE ON CENT
22			+HARÐACNVT RE	+PINEDI ONN CENT
23		2B	+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFNOÐ ONN CEN
24	Chester ...	2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ÆLFSIG ONN LEICES <sup>5</sup>
25			+HARÐACNVT	+ÆLFSTAN ON LEGES <sup>5</sup>
26			+HARÐACNV	+CILLECRIST ON LEGIC <sup>5</sup>
27			+HARÐACNVT	+LE[OFN]OÐ ONN LEIC <sup>5, 6</sup>
28			+HARÐENVT RE	+LEOFFINE ON LEIC <sup>5</sup>
29			+HARÐACNVT	+SNELL ONN LEIC <sup>5</sup>
30	Chichester ..	1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+LEOFFINE ONN LIC
31	Cricklade ...	2B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ONN CROC
32	Derby ...	2B	+HARENVT	+SPERTINE ON DEOR <sup>7</sup>
33			+HARENVT	+PVLFEH ON DEORB <sup>7</sup>
34	Dorchester ...	1B	+HARDENVT RE	+ÆGELRIC ON DORC
35			Unascertained.	+BLAE[... ON D]OR <sup>4</sup>
36		2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+GODPINE ON DORCE
37	Dover ...	1A	+HARÐENVT RE	+EINSTAN ON DOFRA
38			+HARÐENVT	+LEOFFINE ON DOF
39			+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFFPINE ON DOF
40			+HARÐACNVT	+LEOFFINE ON DOF
41		1B	+HARÐENVT RE	+BOGA ONN DOFRAN
42			+HARDENVT RE	+ETTSIGE ONN DOFRA
43		2B	+HARÐENVT	+CNINESTAN ON DO

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
44	Exeter ...	1A	+HARÐENV T RE	+ÐEGNPINE ON EXC
45			+HARÐACNVT R	+PVLNOÐ ON CEXEC
46			+HARÐACNVT RE	+EADMÆR ON EXEC
47		1B	Unascertained.	+G[ODMA]N O[N] EX <sup>4</sup>
48			+HARÐACNVT RE	+HÆRRA ON EXC
49			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÐEGNPINE ON EXE
50		2B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+PVLNOÐ ON EXCE
51			+HARÐACNVT	+ÆLFSTAN ON EXEC S
52			+HARÐACNVT REX	+DODDA ON ECXEECE
53			+HARÐENV T R	+DODDA ON ECXEEST
54			+HARÐACNVT	+DODE ONN EXECE
55			+HARÐENV T REX	+EDMÆR ON EXCESR
56			+HARÐACNVT REX	+EDMÆR ON EXCESR
57			+HARÐACNVT	+GODPINE ON EXE
58			+HARÐACNVT RE	+MANLEOF ON ECXEC
59	Gloucester ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLFSIG ON GLEOCE
60			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODRIC ON GLEOVV
61			+HARÐACNVT R	+PVLFRED ON GLEO
62		2B	Unascertained.	+PVLNOÐ ON GLEOV
63			+HADAENVT RE	+ÆELRIC ON GLEPEP
64			+HADAENVT RE	+ÆELRIC ON GL·EPEP
65			+HADAENVT RE	+ÆELRIC ONN GLEPEC
66			+HADAENVT RE	+GODRIC ON GLEPECE
67			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFNOÐ ON GLEP
68			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFNOÐ ON GLEPE
69			+HADAENVT REX	+PVPERD ON GEEP
70	Guildford ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+BLACAMAN ON GIL
71			+HARÐACNVT RE	+BLACMAN ON GIL

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
72	Hastings ...	1B	+HARÐENV T RE	+ALFRED ON HÆS
73			+HARÐENV T RE	+BRIDD ON HÆS
74			+HARÐACNV T RE	+BRIDD ON HÆS
75	Hereford <sup>8</sup> ...	2B	+HARÐENV T REX	+EARNPI ON HEREV
76			+HAR: ÐENV RE	+LEFENOÐ ON HERE
77			+HARÐENV T RE	+LEOFENOÐ ON HER
78			+HARÐENV T RE	+ORDREC ON HEREFO
79			+HARÐENV T REX	+ORDREC ON HEREFO
80			+HARÐENV T REX	+PVLSICEOD ON HERE
81	Huntingdon	2B	+HARENV T T	+ÆLFPI NE ON HVNT
82			+HARÐENV	+PVLFP I ON HVNTA
83			+HARÐENV T	+PVLFP I NE ON HVN
84	Ilchester ...	1B	+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGELPI ON GIEEL
85			+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELP I NE ON GIFE
86		2B	+HARÐENV T RE	+GODRIC ONN GIFELE
87	Ipswich ...	2B	+HARÐENV T RE	+LIFIN C ON GIPESPICC
88	Langport ...	2B	+HARÐENV T RE	+DVNBERD ON LANGP
89			+HARÐENV T	+PVLFP I NE ONN LA
90	Leicester ...	2B	+HARÐENV T	+SÆVINE ON LEHER <sup>13</sup>
91			+HARÐACNV T	+PVLPI NE ON LERE <sup>13</sup>
92	Lewes ..	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+EDPERD ON LÆPE
93			+HARÐACNV T RE	+NORÐMAN ON LÆ
94	Lincoln <sup>9</sup> ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELP I NE ON LIN C
95			+HARÐACV T	+HILDVLF ONN LIN C
96		2B	Unascertained.	+[ÆGEL]P I NE ON LI[NC] <sup>4</sup>



No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
97	Lincoln, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HARÐAEN	+ÆLFNOÐ ON LINE
98			+HARÐAEN	+ALFNOÐ ON LINEO
99			+HARÐENV T R	+ALFNOÐ ON LINEO
100			+HARÐAENV	+COLGRIM ON LINE
101			+HARENV T	+COLGRIM ON LINEO
102			+HARÐAENV	+CONRINCEOF ON LIN
103			+HARÐENV T R	+GODRIC ON LINEO
104			+HARÐENV T R	+LEONIG ON LINEOL
105			+HARÐAENV T R	+LIFINE ONN LNCOE
106			+HARÐENV T R	+OSFERÐ ON LINEO
107			+HARÐENV T R	+OOSMVND ON LIN
108			+HARÐENV T R	+OSMVND ON LINEO
109			+HARÐENV RE	+RVLNOD ON LINEOL
110	London <sup>10</sup> ...	1A	+HARÐENV T RE	+SPERTINE ON LINE
111			+HARÐENV T	+ÐVRGRIM ON LINEO
112			+HARÐENV T R	+ÐVRGRIM ON LINEO
113			+HARÐAENV	+PVLBERN ON LINEO
114		1B	+HARÐAENV T R	+LEFSAN ON LVND
115			+HARÐAENV T RE	+LEOFRED ON LVNDON
116			+HARÐAENV T	+LEOFSTAN ON LVND
117			+HARÐAENV T RE	+DVDINE ON LVND
118		2B	+HARÐAENV T RE	+BRVN ONN LVNDE
119			+HARÐAENV T RE	+GOD ONN LVNDEN
120			+HARENV T R	+ÆDELPINE ON LVND
121			+HARÐENV	+ÆGELPARD ON LV
122			+HARAV	+BRVN ON LVN
123			+HARÐENV T R	+CORF ON LVNDE
124			+HARÐENV T	+EDRIC ON LVNDE
125			+HARÐENV T RE	+EDPIGG ONN LVNDE
126			+HARÐENV T R	+GODMAN ON LVND

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
127	London, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HARÐENV T R	+GODRIC CALIC ON LV
128			+HARÐENV T R	+GODPINE ON LVNDE
129			+HARÐENV T	+GOLDOSIGE ON LVN
130			+HARÐENV	+GOLDOSIGE ON LVND
131			+HARÐENV	+GOLDOSIGE ON LVNDEN
132			+HARÐENV T	+LEFSTAN ON LVN
133			+HARÐENV T E	+LEFSTAN ON LVNDE
134			+HARÐENV T	+LEOFRED ON LVNDE
135			+HARÐACNV T	+LEOFRED BRVN ON LV
136			+HARÐENV T	+LEOFSTAN ON LVNDE
137			+HARÐENV T	+LIFINC ON LVND
138			+HARÐENV T	+LIFINC ON LVNDENE
139			+HARÐENV T RE	+PVL FRED ONN LVNDE
140			+HARÐACNV T RE	+PVL FRED ON LVNDEN
141		Fig. 14	+HARÐACNV T R	+GODRIC ON LVN
142	Malmesbury	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+HVNNA ON MEA
143		2B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+HVNNA ONN MEALMES
144	Norwich ...	2B	+HARÐACNV	+LEOFPIN ON NORD
145			+HARÐACNV	+LEOFPINE ON NOR
146			+HARÐENV T	+OSMVND ON NORP
147		Fig. 15	+HARÐACNV T REX	+RINC VLF ON NOR
148	Nottingham	2B	+HARENV T	+BLACAMAN ON SN
149			+HARÐENV T	+BLACAMAN ON SNO
150			+HARÐACNV	+PVLNOÐ ON SNOT
151			+HAROENV	+PVLNOÐ ON SNOVT
152	Oxford ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ON OEXE
153			+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELPI ON OEXE
154			+HARENV T RE	+GODPINE ON OEX

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
155	Oxford, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HARÐENV T R	+ÆGELRIC ONN OXAN
156			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGELPIG ONN OEXEN
157			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGLPINE ON COX
158			+HARÐENV T	+ÆGELPINE ON OXA
159			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆGLPINE ON COXE
160			+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGLPINE ON COXE
161			+HARÐENV T RE	+ÆLRIIC ONN OEXENA
162			+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆLPINE ONN OEXENE
163			+HARÐACNV T	+EDVIG ON DROXANA
164			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON COXE
165			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON OEXENE
166			+HARÐACNV T REX	+GODPINE ON OEXENE
167			+HARÐACNV T REX	+GODPINE ONN OEXENE
168			+HARÐENV T R	+LIFINC ONN OEXEN
169	Rochester ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON ROF
170	Salisbury ...	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON SERE
171	Shaftesbury	1B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ON SCEFT
172		2B	+HARÐACNV T RE	+ÆGELRIC ONN SCEFTE
173	Shrewsbury	2B	+HARÐACNV	+ÆLFFEH ON SCRO
174	Southampton	2B	+HARÐACNV T R	+ÆLFPINE ON HÆMTV
175			+HARÐACNV T	+GODRIC ONN HAMTV
176	Southwark ...	2B	+HARÐENV T	+ÆGELVINE ON SVÐ
177			+HARÐENV T	+ÆLVII ON SVÐGER
178			+HARÐACNV	+BRVHRED ON SVÐ
179	Stamford ...	1B	+HARÐACV T	+GODRIC ON STANF
180			+HARÐACNV T RE	+GODPINE ON SANI

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
181	Stamford, <i>contd.</i>	2B	+HA_CNVTT	+BRVNPINE ON STA
182			+HAÐENVT R	+BRVNPINE ON STA
183			+HARÐENVT RE	+GODRIC ON STANFO
184			+HARÐEVT RE	+GODPINE ON STANCO
185			+HARÐVT RE	+GODPINE ON STANCO
186			+HARÐVT RE	+GODPINE ON STANFO
187			+HAEENVT	+LEFPNE ON STANE
188			+HAÐENVT	+SPERTT ON STANFO
189			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÐVRSTAN ON STA
190			+HARÐENVT RE	+ÐVRSTANN ON STAN
191			+HARENVT	+ÐVRVLF ON STANF
192	Steyning ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+FRIDĠ ON STÆNIGE
193	Taunton ..	2B	Unascertained.	. . . . . ON TAN <sup>4</sup>
194	Thetford ...	2B	+HVRÐACNVT	+ÆLFFPINE ON ÐEOT
195			+HARENVT RE	+BRVNSTAN ON ÐEOTF
196			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE ON ÐEOTVO
197			+HVRÐACNVT	+LEOFPINE ON ÐEOT
198	Wallingford	1A	+HARÐACNVT	+BVRPINE ON PELII
199		2B	+HARÐACNVT	+ÆLFRIE ON PELINC
200			+HARÐACNVT	+ÆLVIONPII ON PEL
201			+HARÐENVT RE	+BRVNPINE ON PELI
202	Wareham ...	2B	+HARÐENVT RE	+ISIDEMAN ON PERHA
203	Warwick ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFPN ON PERNE
204			+HARÐACNVT RE	+SIPERD ONN PAR
205	Watchet ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODEILD ON PELED

No.	Mint.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
206	Wilton ...	2B	Unascertained.	..... ON PILTV <sup>4</sup>
207	Winchcombe	2B	+HARÐACNVT	+PRACA ONN PICE <sup>11</sup>
208	Winchester...	1A	Unascertained.	+GO[DPINE ON] PINC <sup>4</sup>
209			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE CEO ON PI
210		1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELRIC ON PINE
211			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLFRED ON PINE
212			+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆLPINE ON PICE
213			Unascertained.	+ÆST[AN ON] PIN <sup>4</sup>
214			+HARÐCNVT RE	+GODPINE ON PINE
215			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE ON PINE
216			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE CEO ON PI
217			+HARÐACNVT RE	+GODPINE PVDI ON PI
218			+HARÐACNVT RE	+LADMÆR ON PINE
219		2B	+HARÐCNVT	+ÆLPINE ON PINCES
220			+HARÐCNVT RX	+SÆVARD ON PINE
221			+HARÐCNV REX	+SÆPINE ON PINCEST
222			+HARÐCNV REX	+SÆPINE ON PINEEST
223			HARÐACNVT RE	+PINER ON PINCESTR
224	Witham ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+ÆGELPINE ON PIÐA
225	Worcester ...	2B	+HARÐCNVT RE	+LEFSTAN ON PIHER
226	York <sup>12</sup> ...	1B	+HARÐACNVT RE	+LEOFRIC ONN EOIFE
227			+HARÐCNVT RE	+PÐERPINNE ON EO
228	Unknown ...	1A	Unascertained.	[+L]EOFÐEG[EN] ..... <sup>4</sup>
229			Unascertained.	[+P]VLSIGEE ON ..... <sup>4</sup>
230		1B	Unascertained.	+ÆLFSTA[Ń] ..... <sup>4</sup>

NOTES.

- <sup>1</sup> For evidence of the mint at Axbury, now Axbridge, see vol. vi of this *Journal*, pp. 17-18.
- <sup>2</sup> Erroneously attributed to Exeter in the *British Museum Catalogue*.
- <sup>3</sup> Erroneously attributed to Canterbury and Oxford respectively in *Hildebrand*.
- <sup>4</sup> Fragment.
- <sup>5</sup> Erroneously attributed to Leicester in *Hildebrand*.
- <sup>6</sup> Moneyer's name obscure.
- <sup>7</sup> Erroneously described in *Hildebrand* as Type B *var. a*.
- <sup>8</sup> No. 68 in *Hildebrand* is not considered to be of Hereford.
- <sup>9</sup> Nos. 87 and 88 in *Hildebrand* are Danish.
- <sup>10</sup> Nos. 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 115, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, and 145 in *Hildebrand* are Danish.
- <sup>11</sup> For the appropriation of this reading to Winchcombe, see vol. vi of this *Journal*, p. 49.
- <sup>12</sup> No. 41 in *Hildebrand* is a coin of Edward the Confessor.
- <sup>13</sup> Erroneously attributed to Chester in *Hildebrand*.



A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF  
WILLIAM I. AND II.

A.D. 1066 TO 1100.

BY MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A.

As Major Carlyon-Britton's duties with the 14th Battalion of the West Yorkshire Regiment have called him away from London during the whole of the year 1915, and he is now under orders for the Front, the continuation of this paper must necessarily await his return.—EDITOR.

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A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF  
STEPHEN.

A.D. 1135 TO 1154.

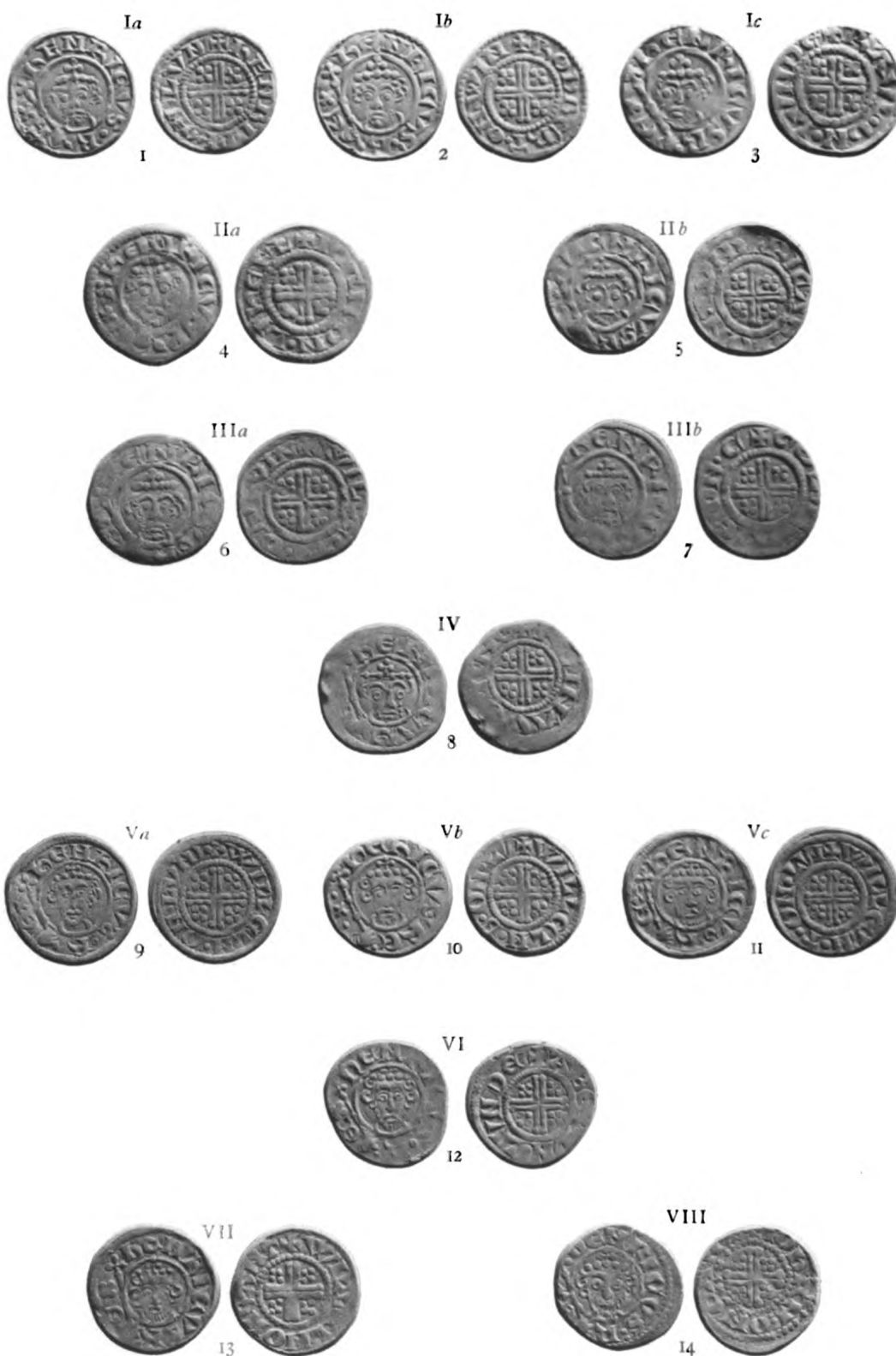
BY W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

I HOPE to be able to continue this paper in our next volume.—EDITOR.









PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

THE SHORT-CROSS COINAGE, A.D. 1180-1247.  
THE GENERAL TYPES.

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Original from  
PENN STATE

PLATE I.

## THE SHORT-CROSS COINAGE, 1180 to 1247.

By L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

**I**T may be a matter of some surprise to those conversant with the literature referring to the short-cross coinage that this subject should again demand any serious attention.

The *Numismatic Chronicle* of some fifty years ago is full of papers upon it written by then eminent men in the numismatic world. Such names as Assheton Pownall, W. H. D. Longstaffe, and Sir John Evans have appeared under these papers and vouch for the really good work and valuable results produced in the articles over their signatures. In those days, it must be remembered, the chief puzzles in connexion with the short-cross coinage were to whom to assign these issues. Fierce battles were fought as to whether they should be attributed to Henry II. or to Henry III. The result of the contest then waged was to leave the coinage as we now know it, attributing the earlier issues to Henry II., the later to Henry III., and those intermediate to Richard I. and John. This result was chiefly attained by Sir John Evans, in a paper published in 1865, although two years previously Longstaffe had suggested the solution in a paper entitled "Northern Evidence on the Short-Cross Question." Longstaffe's classification, however, was unsatisfactory in many details and was much improved by Sir John Evans, who had the advantage of the information obtainable from the large hoard discovered at Eccles after the publication of Longstaffe's paper. That the classification now accepted should have held its ground for half-a-century shows what fine work was done by the late eminent President of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Now although Sir John Evans's classification still holds, in that those coins which he placed first in the series must still be considered the earliest, and those which he considered the latest will still retain

a very late place, I think that some alterations and shifting of classes between the first and last types of the series will perhaps straighten out some kinks in his line of issues. Perhaps to show these alterations better it would be as well to describe very briefly the classification he used in arriving at his results.

The chief factor was the king's bust, and of this he chose, first, the number of curls constituting the locks of hair at each side of the king's head and, secondly, the number of pearls in the king's crown or diadem.

His first class consisted of coins with two curls on the dexter side and five on the sinister and with five pearls to the crown, all well marked. The second class bore an even number of curls on each side, from one to many, and more than five pearls to the crown, often not well marked and commonly strung together : the coins themselves being not so well struck as in the first class. The pieces grouped together as the third class had two curls on each side, usually containing pellets, five pearls to the crown, a thin long bust with a well-marked pointed beard, and the coins neatly made. Ornamental letters were occasionally present and the cross dividing the legend on the reverse was sometimes pommée, sometimes pattée. The fourth class only differed from the third in having an extra curl on one or both sides of the head. The fifth class consisted of those coins which show a small, round, and compact bust set low down and practically showing no neck or collar and with a much squarer beard.

This, then, is now the working classification in use in our cabinets to-day and it is fifty years old. It would be surprising indeed if half-a-century's accumulated knowledge could not better in some ways the arrangement. Let me shortly try and show how. There are many coins at present given to Class II, which, while agreeing among themselves, differ entirely from other groups contained in the same class. Thus, although coins with only one curl on each side agree among themselves, they are as unlike the coins with many curls on each side as are Class I and Class III. Some further rectification should certainly take place here. Again, there are coins now called Class IV which only differ from some called Class III in a minute extra curl,

perhaps on one side only. They present the same bust, the same letters, the same initial cross, even the cross pommée. To separate them is an anomaly. Furthermore, an observer can easily pick out, in Classes III and IV, coins which show totally different treatment from other members of the same classes, though they may bear two curls or three curls respectively on each side. Thus again, some rearrangement is obviously necessary to bring the corresponding groups into harmony.

Class V happily will require very little alteration, but I hope to be able to show satisfactorily that there is a still later class than Sir John Evans arranged, and to indicate its relations with Class V and with the long-cross coinage which immediately followed the short-cross issues.

#### THE NEW CLASSIFICATION.

The year 1180 is now accepted as that in which the short-cross coinage superseded the earlier type of Henry Plantagenet. This date is recorded by the majority of the Chroniclers. Philip Amary<sup>1</sup> of Tours was sent for to superintend the arrangements for the issue. The coinage continued without a break until 1247, when it had become so bad that it was decided to recall the whole issue and replace it with a new money of a different pattern.

The general type, which thus remained current for some 67 years, is as follows :—

*Obverse.*—The king's bust facing, bearded, a sceptre in his right hand, a diadem of pearls on his head. On the majority of the coins there is some evidence of a collar below the beard. An inner circle confines the bust but not the hand holding the sceptre. Outside the inner circle is the simple legend **HENRICVS REX**.

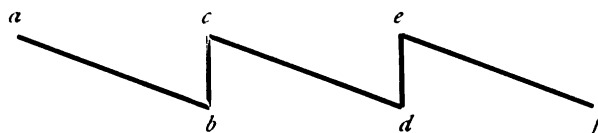
*Reverse.*—A short double cross, the ends pommée, in the centre frequently a pellet or little square. In each quarter a small cross pommée, the lines of the cross so thin as to be often scarcely visible. The whole within an inner circle. Without this is the legend, the moneyer's name and that of the mint being connected by the usual word **ON**, and beginning with a cross.

This simple description will equally well suit a coin struck about 1180, or made in 1246. It is by the details filling in this picture and

<sup>1</sup> Aymary or Aimer.

by the style in which the whole is carried out that we are able to distinguish the different periods characteristic of the different times at which the coins were made.

It must be remembered in studying the short-cross coinage, and indeed any coinage of early times in which one type only had a very long run, that the first examples were well and carefully made, and that later copies had a tendency to degenerate, as less skill and attention were bestowed upon them, and then when they had become impossible they were replaced by others still of the same original type but of more skilful work and better finish, these in turn to degenerate until they were replaced. The coinage might therefore be represented diagrammatically by a line sloping gradually downwards from good to bad, and then suddenly upraised as a new issue appeared, thus :—

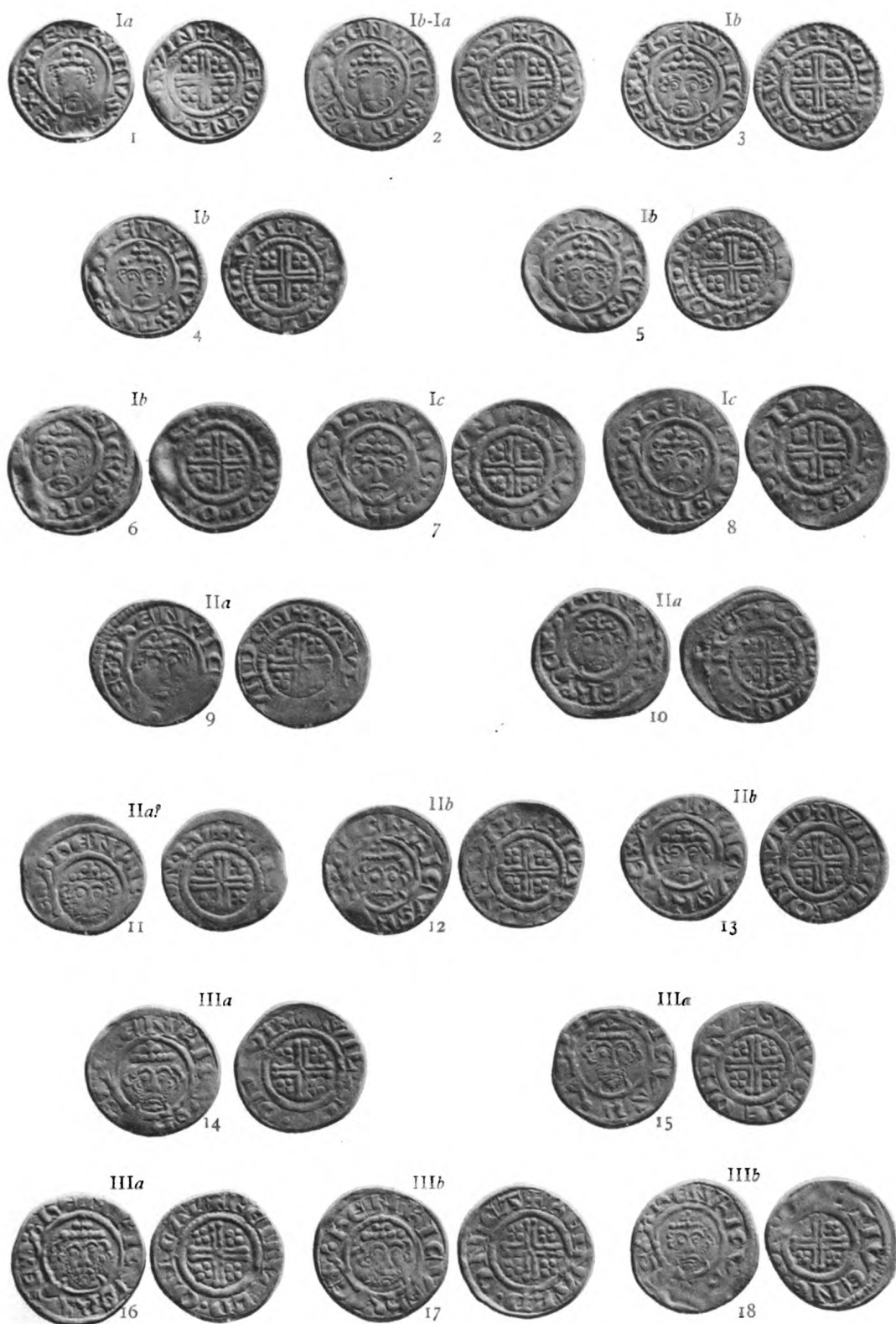


Coins struck at *a*, *c*, *e*, would be good, those at *b*, *d*, *f*, bad. Coins from *a* to *b*, *c* to *d*, *e* to *f*, would gradually degenerate, while from *b* to *c* and *d* to *e* would suddenly improve. Some such process can be clearly traced in the short-cross coinage, though the individual degradations are difficult to recognize.

Now let us endeavour to divide the whole coinage into classes, which either fade gradually into one another or in which a sudden improvement takes place.

#### THE NEW CLASSIFICATION.

Class I.—The first issue of the coinage we know fairly well, as among the London coins we find examples bearing the name of Philip Amary of Tours, that is, **PHILIP AIMER** as moneyer. This is Sir John Evans's Class I. The coins are large, well spread and carefully struck. There are usually two curls on the dexter side and five curls on the sinister side of the head. Generally there are five pearls to the crown.



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THE SHORT-CROSS COINAGE, A.D. 1180-1247.  
SEQUENCE AND VARIATION OF TYPES Ia TO IIIb.

PLATE 11





This large class may be subdivided into three subclasses :—

Class Ia.—Coins bearing the Roman **E**, square **⏏**, and often an outer circle with dots at intervals. This is the earliest type of the coinage. Plates I, 1 ; II, 1.

Class Ib.—Coins bearing the same bust, but somewhat larger ; the **E** becomes **⦿** and the **⏏** **⦿**, and this later form, the round **⦿** and **⦿**, is retained throughout the whole coinage to the end. The obverse legend is **HENRICVS·REX** with a characteristic dot between the words. Plates I, 2 ; II, 3–6.

Class Ic.—Here we get the first evidence of degradation. The coins are still like *a* and *b*, but the curls are becoming indistinct in number, the pearls are being run together and the whole work is rather coarser and less careful. The dot between **HENRICVS** and **REX** is frequently absent. These coins were classed by Sir John Evans as Class II. Plates I, 3 ; II, 7, 8.

Class II.—A smaller head with many curls on each side. It is subdivided as :—

Class IIa.—The contour of the whole head has now become much more rounded. The eyes appear to be made of two large pellets. The curls are many on both sides, and creep down towards the beard. The head itself is somewhat smaller than in Class I. Usually there are five pearls in the crown. Plates I, 4 ; II, 9, 10.

Class IIb.—Coarser work of much the same type, pearls more numerous, curls fewer, often three on each side. Many of the coins have a colon on each side of the word **ON** on the reverse, instead of the usual single pellet. Plates I, 5 ; II, 11–13.

Class III.—Here the head has become somewhat larger and the curls, which are many on both sides, stand out from the head in a bunch. Apparently there are about the same number of curls on both sides and they join on to a well-marked and pointed beard. The head

is therefore more oval than that shown in Class II. The pearls in the crown are many, small and united. Plates I, 6; II, 14-16. Its subdivisions are :—

Class III*a*.—The head fills the greater part of the field.

Class III*b*.—The same class of head, occupying less of the field.  
Plates I, 7; II, 17, 18.

Class IV.—Badly designed coins, badly struck. The head has no relief. In the worst examples there is a single curl on each side. The eyes are annulets and expressionless. The hair about the face is represented by a few irregularly placed pellets. The pearls have run into a mere straight line. The lettering is of the coarsest, and the serifs of the letters are placed so that the ends which they are supposed to finish frequently show on the further side. On a few coins of this type I have noticed the presence of a cross pommée as a mint-mark. Plates I, 8; III, 19-24.

All the coins hitherto described show a regular degradation down to this point. Classes II, III, and IV were all included by Sir John Evans in his second class.

Class V.—A complete change was now made in style and workmanship on the lines of the old type. The coins are smaller, most carefully worked and beautifully struck. There is modelling about the face, and on the earliest examples the two to five curls of Class I reappear, but now they generally contain pellets. The beard is of fine strokes continued from the curls to the chin, which is pointed and usually ends in a pellet. The pearls in the crown are again five in number and separate, and a dot is sometimes placed between **HENRICVS** and **REX**. In this very early example, therefore, we get a reproduction of nearly all the features of Class I, but the workmanship is entirely different. Slightly later the curls were restricted to two or three on each side of the head, but sometimes one is left out on one side or the other. The pearls are occasionally increased in numbers. The *X* in *REX* is usually a square cross, all the limbs being equal and meeting at right angles, ✕. The eyes are usually oval and the pupils frequently indicated.

Class *Va*.—The mint-mark is a cross pommée. The last letter of the king's name is always reversed as **z**, and if that letter occurs in a moneyer's name, it shows the same peculiarity. Ornamental letters appear on some coins of this issue, which will be detailed later. Plates I, 9 ; III, 25–31.

Class *Vb* only differs in having the mint-mark a cross pattée. The letter *s* is not reversed. Plates I, 10 ; III, 30–34. These two varieties may have been concurrent at first, but the cross pattée appears on some coins certainly less well made, and establishes a link with the third variety of this class on which the bust has already begun to deteriorate.

Class *Vc*.—The work is not so fine nor is the striking. The beard is less pointed, that is squarer and coarser. The mint-mark is a cross pattée. The *X* in *REX* is formed of four wedges, thus, ✕, the limbs being no longer at right angles. No ornamental letters are found in this variety. Plates I, 11 ; III, 35 ; IV, 36.

Class VI.—All fineness of work has now disappeared. The face is much thinner from side to side, giving it a long appearance. The beard is made of coarse strokes radiating from the face and producing a most unpleasant appearance. The eyes, which are oval as before, are occasionally arranged, as regards their pupils, so as to produce a well-marked squint. On many examples of this large class, probably the later issues, though possibly not the latest, ornamental letters again appear. Although frequently the same letters are decorated as those in Classes *Va* and *b*, the ornamentation is different and the work is also different. The curls remain, two or three on each side, and the pearls of the crown are still generally five in number. The *X* in *REX* is formed as a quatrefoil with the foils distinctly rounded thus, ☼. The coins of Classes V and VI were all included by Sir John Evans in his Classes III and IV, some in one, some in the other, according to the number of curls. Class VI fades insensibly into the next class, and it is almost impossible to separate the latest of one group from the earliest of the next. Plates I, 12 ; IV, 37–41.

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Class VII.—Small coins with a degraded bust and badly struck. They show a head set low down to the inner circle, which thus cuts off the chin and neck. The curls are three in number, often without pellets, and usually reaching up to the level of the crown. The beard is made of a few long, coarse strokes, and is square and unpointed. The letters are small. The cross pattée is still present as the mint-mark on the reverse, but there are no stops on either side of **ON**, which until now had always appeared. Instead, we frequently find pellets placed between the letters of the moneyer's or mint name, or in some other place than before or after **ON**. Thus a name followed by initials may have these punctuated. The *x* is that of Class VI. Plates I, 13; IV, 41–48. This was Sir John Evans's Class V.

Class VIII.—The coins which must be placed in this class are those which ended the life of the short-cross coinage. The work is bad, shockingly bad, whether of engraving or striking. The king's portrait in the later examples might better represent a monster than a human being. Plates I, 14; IV, 49–53. The bust on characteristic specimens is large, showing a long beard and often something of a collar. The curls are usually two or three on each side, sometimes with, and sometimes without, enclosed pellets. The eyes are usually annulets and the crown exhibits five large and distinct pearls. One, two, or three pellets may be noticed between the words on both sides or on one side only. The strokes of the beard, instead of lining out from the face, appear to point inward, so that the outline is a single line, the shape of the face. Varieties of this class might be described according to the form of the *x* in *REX*. The earliest form is that used on types VI and VII. Then an *x* like the small cross in the quarters of the reverse, and finally an *x* which presents a close resemblance to the same letter, found on the early long-cross coins. The mint-mark on the earlier varieties is still a cross pattée, but this is not long retained, and a cross pommée soon takes its place. As a whole class gradual alteration can be traced from Class VII, and with the exception of the mint of St. Edmundsbury, the coins were all struck by moneyers coining in Class VII. This is a new class, the coins of which appear to have been unnoticed by Sir John Evans.



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# THE SHORT-CROSS COINAGE, A.D. 1180-1247.

SEQUENCE AND VARIATION OF TYPES IV TO Vc.



## THE RECORDS.

It is thought that a subdivision of the whole of the short-cross issues into these eight classes, and their varieties, will enable any individual coin to be placed somewhere near its proper place as regards the time of issue. This subject must now demand some attention, and an attempt must be made to date approximately the classes.

Unfortunately, the public records do not help us here in the same way that they were useful in the classification of the long-cross coinage, in that the various series of patent and close rolls were not begun until the time of John; and the pipe rolls, the only series embracing, in point of time, the whole short-cross coinage are only in part published. The latter, again, are records of accounts of the kingdom; and although they frequently contain the names of moneyers, it does not at all follow that the particular moneyer named was striking during the time covered by the roll. Thus a moneyer may have been in debt to the state, and so long as any of his debt was unpaid we are liable to find his name entered on the pipe roll for the amount still owing. We may thus find the names of men described as moneyers at places of which we have no coins during short-cross times, which might lead the unwary to seek for coins from these mints. Examination of earlier rolls will, however, often show the same entry relating to the same man at the same mint back to the first entry, when it will probably be found that a mint was then being carried on at the place named. Thus if we find in a pipe roll of Richard I., or John, an entry of a moneyer of Thetford as still debited, we must conclude that the entry had come down from the time of the "Tealby" type coins, and this will probably be proved by an examination of a roll of Henry II. prior to 1180, where the same name and place may be mentioned, with possibly a larger sum owing. To anybody conversant with the pipe rolls, these remarks may seem somewhat unnecessary. Our surest methods of dating coins are: 1, examinations of finds; 2, evidence of overstrikes; 3, the presence of mules; 4, mention in contemporary records.

There have been several finds, both large and small, of short-cross coins, but they are, with perhaps one exception, useless for dating any

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one type or class, as all classes have been found together. The one exception is a small find containing coins of Henry Plantagenet, issued prior to 1180, the Tealby type, together with contemporary continental pieces, and happily a number of short-cross coins, agreeing in all particulars with those I have described under Class I, the three varieties and no others. This is the only find, so far as I know, in which the Tealby type has been found with short-cross coins. The find is at present unpublished, and was recovered, I believe, in Rome.

Mr. Brooke, in his account of the hoard of coins found at Slype, recorded two short-cross coins, or more accurately, one penny and one half-penny, as having been found with long-cross coins, the short-cross pieces being of Class VII, as above. The great Brussels hoard of long-cross pennies contained specimens, so I am told, of all classes of short-cross money. I have not, however, seen the coins.

These finds will be treated in detail later, but at present it is sufficient to note that Class I is found with Tealby-type coins, and Class VII is found with long-cross coins. This is so far as finds help us, but both discoveries point to the correct placing of Classes I and VII. The evidence of overstrikes, which has been so very useful in earlier reigns, is out of the question with short-cross coins, as all the coins are of the same type. Mules contribute something, for we find coins of Class I, in which the Roman form of C and E is found on one side, whilst the other side presents round forms of the same letters. Mules of Classes Va and Vb are frequent, and again, I have noted mules between Classes VI and VII by the differing letters used on two sides of the same coin, and by the absence or presence of the dots separating the word **ON** on the reverse combined with a Class VI or Class VII bust. Documentary evidence will be used where available.

The first date of interest is A.D. 1180. This, as already stated, is the date assigned by the majority of the chroniclers who mention the matter, and it is that which has been accepted by numismatic authorities.<sup>1</sup> It was then that the short-cross coinage came into

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was read to the Society, I have found the following entry in the Pipe Roll, 26, Henry II. :—*Et Phillipus Aimer xxxiiil. et iis. et viid. ad faciendum Cambium Regis apud Lond.* The question of the date, therefore, may now be considered settled.

existence by the issue of coins of Class Ia. Nine years later, in 1189, the first year of Richard I., we get two dated charters. One to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, given at Canterbury on December 1st, 1189, allowed the archbishop to have three dies and three moneyers in that city. The other, to Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, granted a pair of dies, that is, for the obverse and reverse, for use in Lichfield. No doubt these charters would be immediately acted upon; at any rate, we have one coin from the Lichfield mint; and of the same type as this there are coins known of several places, amongst them London, Canterbury and Lincoln. The type of this coin is described as Class IIa. Having these two dates, 1180 and 1189, it is fairly easy to assign the intervening coins by observing the gradual transition. The remaining varieties of Class I are thus accounted for.

The year 1196 is of importance, in that it was then that the privilege of coinage was restored to the Bishop of Durham after having been in abeyance for many years.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding absence of all coins of Classes I, II and IIIa is therefore significant, and equally important is the presence of coins classed as IIIb.

Mr. Brooke, in his chronology of the short-cross coins<sup>2</sup> has made a special reference to Chichester, and has quoted three writs directing the revival of that mint. These occur under the year 1205, in the reign of King John. The documents were referred to by both Sir John Evans and Mr. Grueber in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but Mr. Brooke, by referring to the originals, has considerably added to their utility. The gist of the writs is as follows :—

The first writ, dated April 29th, grants to the Bishop of Chichester one die to be current until the king's dies are ready, and then to be current with them. The second writ is to William FitzOtho, the hereditary engraver, ordering three dies, one for the bishop and two for the king, and is dated May 17th.

The third writ orders the royal dies to be handed to the bishop on lease for one year on August 1st, and is dated July 27th.

<sup>1</sup> Longstaffe, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1910.

Furthermore, the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Annales de Wintonia*, under the year 1205, both state "mutatio monetae facta est," and Mr. Andrew drew attention to a paragraph in the continuation of *Florence of Worcester* which says "[1205] moneta olim A.D. MCLVIII facta hoc anno est renovata." This all indicates a new coinage, and for such a purpose it had, of course, to be recognizable, and to be capable of differentiation from what went before it. There is only one class of coin which can possibly answer these conditions, which include good work, whether of engraving or striking. The coins are easily found in those marked with the cross pommée as a mint-mark, namely Class Va, and they fulfil all the conditions required for a new or renovated coinage. In the same way we incidentally recognize in Class IV the coinage which was replaced as having been too bad to be continued. Now let us see if there is anything in common between these very bad and very good coins to warrant us in placing them together. If a list of moneyers striking in Class IV is compared with a like list of those striking in Class Va, we shall find the following: At Canterbury there were 10 moneyers striking in Class IV: 7 of these continued in Class V—the remainder ceased striking altogether, for we do not find their names again. At London, in the same way, 8 strike in Class IV and 5 of them in Class V, the remainder disappearing. In the rest of the mints of the whole country I can only find 14 moneyers in type IV against 21 striking in type V; and only 4 struck in both types at the same place, the remainder of the moneyers of Class IV dropping out. The new coinage, however, required more mints and more moneyers, hence the increase in the men striking in the new type. This, perhaps, does not seem to be a large proportion striking in both types, but when it is considered that this was practically a new coinage with many new mints, the disproportion is not so great as would at first appear. It has also to be remembered that the lists which I have obtained probably do not represent every possible coin of every type.

The next date of importance, although not dating a class, is that of a writ issued on October 7th, 1207, summoning a great inquisition of moneyers for January 10th, 1208; and we obtain for the first time the

names of the mints then at work. They were London, Winchester, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, Bury St. Edmunds, and Durham. Of these, five were new mints, namely, Chichester, Rochester, Ipswich, Lynn, and Bury St. Edmunds, for we know of no coins of these before Class V. The purpose of this great meeting of moneyers, who were ordered to bring all their dies and paraphernalia, is doubtful. Mr. Brooke has described it at length in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1910. It could not have been for a new coinage, for that had taken place just two years before. Mr. Brooke suggests that it had reference to steps to be taken to prevent forgery. It may be so.

However, we now know that these sixteen mints were those at work at the time. All these mints coined in Class V*b*, and most of them in Class V*a*. Those not appearing under Class V*a* are Carlisle, Lynn, Northampton, Oxford, Rochester, and Bury St. Edmunds. Possibly coins of some of these mints only await discovery in this variety. The two varieties *a* and *b* of Class V are very closely connected, and nearly all the moneyers striking coins bearing the cross pommée also struck those with the cross pattée. Class V*b* is represented by 74 moneyers in the 16 mints, and is the largest class in the short-cross coinage.

We must now consider shortly the Irish coinage of John, as this was the only Irish coinage issued during the contemporary short-cross period. Here we find a king's head which considerably resembles that found on many coins of Class V*b* and on those of Class V*c*, but perhaps the most important feature on it is the shape of the letter *X*, which in the large majority of cases is that shown as characteristic of Class V*c*, the ✕ composed of wedges. The dies are London-made, and the order for them was first given in 1210, so that we may conclude that Class V*c* was in issue in England at this date. The Irish coinage apparently had not a long life, for the coins show few variations and few moneyers. They were not, however, superseded until Henry III. ordered the long-cross coins.

The calendar of the patent roll for the year 1218 gives us two entries of such importance that I have thought it worth while to print

them in full. The first entry, dated February 21st, 1218, places William Marshall, junior, in charge of the five mints of London, Winchester, Durham, York, and St. Edmundsbury. A writ to Canterbury in almost the same words follows in the roll, and includes only the king's share of the mint. Directions are given relative to the retaining in office of the various moneyers, custodes, assayers, etc. It will be noticed that these are the only mints to which type VI appears in the table.

The second entry is perhaps more important. It is dated August 8th, of the same year, 1218, and records the handing over to Randulf of Rouen that place in Northampton in which had been situated "our mint." The writ is issued to the mayor of Northampton.

The conclusions from these two documents are obvious, namely, that in this year the large majority of the country mints were closed. The coins bear out these conclusions, as they are unknown of any of the country mints except those placed under the charge of William Marshall.

De Cambio Anglie liberando W. Marescallo, juniore.

Rex Willelmo filio Benedicti et Hereberto Bono Amico Salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto et fideli nostro Willelmo Marescallo juniore, cambium monete nostre London, ad se sustendandum in servicio nostro, quamdiu nobis placuerit; ita quod de cambio monete nostre reddat per annum dilecto et fideli nostro Huberto de Burgo, justiciario nostro Anglie, quingentas marcas ad sustentacionem castri nostri Dovre. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod sine dilacione eidum Willelmo predictum cambium London liberari faciatis; remanentibus in officio monetarie nostre custodibus cuneorum, assessoribus, monetariis, et ceteris baillivis ad monetam nostram fideliter servandam secundum legem et assisam monete, et qui juramentum nobis prestiterunt de moneta nostra fideliter conservanda sicut predictum est. Et in hujus etc. Teste comite, apud Sturminstre, xxj die Februarii, anno regni H regis secundo.

Eodem modo scribitur majori et prepositis Wintonie.

Eodem modo scribitur majori et vicecomitibus London.

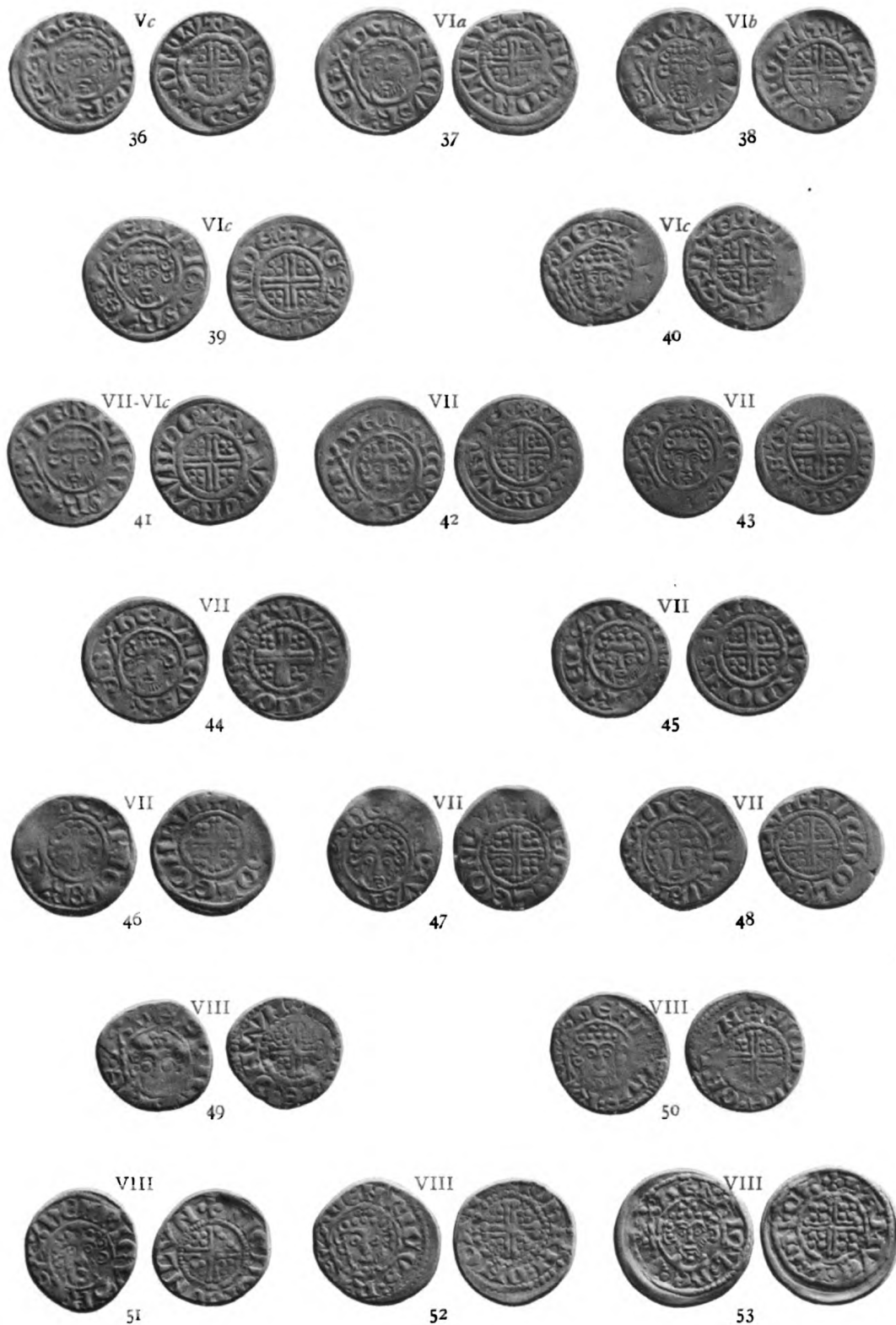
Eodem modo scribitur domino Dunolmensi episcopo, pro eodem.

W. Marescallo, juniore de cambio monete Dunolmi, specialiter ad dominum regem pertinente.

Eodem modo scribitur majori et prepositis Eboraci, pro eodem de cambio monete Eboraci specialiter etc.

Eodem modo scribitur abbati Sancti Edmundi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry III., *Patent Roll*, 1218, p. 138.



PHOTOPHANE CO. S. E.

THE SHORT-CROSS COINAGE, A.D. 1180-1247.  
SEQUENCE AND VARIATION OF TYPES Vc TO VIII.



Pro Radulfo de Rotomago.

Rex majori et prepositis Norhamton, salutem. Sciatis quod dedimus Radulfo de Rotomago placiam illam in Norhamton, in qua sita fuit monetaria nostra. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod de placia illa plenam saisinam ei habere facia[ti]s sine dilacione et eum inde quod voluerit facere permittatis. Wallingford, Aug. 8.<sup>1</sup>

For some years, that is until 1222, we get no material data from the rolls, but in this year we are told that Ilgerius Aurifaber, Randulphus Frowik, Elias de Wincester and Terricus le Chaunier became custodes monetae and at the same time others, namely, Adam Blund, Randulphus de Hanore, Walterus Poltte, Willelmus Rufus, Willelmus de Lindesie, Ricardus de Nekintone, Nicholaus Orbatur and Ricardus Orbatur, were appointed custodes cuneorum. Sir John Evans noted that the names of the four custodes monetae appeared on the coins as Ilger, Rauf, Elis, and Terri, which was not the case with several of the names of the custodes cuneorum, and he seemed to suggest that the year 1222 might be some help in dating the coins bearing them. Unfortunately, however, Ilger's name, although running through the remaining classes of the short-cross coinage, is not in every case accompanied by those of the other three; Ilger commences in Class Vb, Rauf not certainly until Vc, and Elis and Terri not until Class VII, so that although they became custodes together in 1222, certainly Ilger and probably Rauf were at work as moneyers before that time. One may note in passing that to these men were delivered eight dies for pennies, and also dies for round half-pence and farthings. We believe that these latter were not used, and I think, therefore, we have no right to assume that the dies for the penny were.

Under the next year, 1223, the patent roll tells us that the king informed the inhabitants of certain towns in the low countries that coinage would only be allowed in his cities of London and Canterbury. This would account for the cessation of coinage at York and Winchester. I take it, however, that the ecclesiastical mints of Durham and St. Edmundsbury were not affected by this order, as they

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.



were in no sense king's mints, and were in a way outside his jurisdiction, except when there was a period *sedes vacante*. The document referred to is here transcribed. It is quite possible that previous directions had been given in England to English subjects on the closing of the secondary mints, but so far I have been unable to find evidence of it.

De prohibicione cambii.

Rex scabinis et probis hominibus de Ipse, salutem. Sciatis quod provisum est per consilium nostrum et firmiter prohibitum super forisfacturam nostram quod nullus homo decetero, sive sit de terra nostra.

Anglie sive sit aliunde, cambium faciat de plata vel alea massa argenti in terra nostra Anglie, preterquam in civitate nostra Londonie, et in civitate nostra Cantuarie; et hoc vobis mandamus ut hoc sciatis et alios homines de partibus vestris super hoc premuniatis. Teste ut supra.

Eodem modo scribitur scabinis et probis hominibus de Arraz, et de Sancto Audomaro, et de Gant. Westminster, xiii Feb. anno regni nostri VII.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1230, William, the king's tailor, received the die at Canterbury, vacant by the death of Simon Chich; and Adam de Bedeleie and Ricard de Neketon took the oath as moneyers at the London mint. The coins bearing these names are all of Class VII. There must, however, have been an earlier Adam, as this name appears on a coin of Class Vb.

We can thus be sure that Class VII was still in issue in 1230. How long it was continued or when it began is uncertain, but in 1235 the close roll tells us that Thomas de Valentine, a moneyer of Canterbury, was then recently dead, so that Class VII was still in issue, as his name—**TOMAS ON GANT**, is found upon its coins, and we do not find it on those of Class VIII.

Two years later, in 1237, the close roll records the deaths of Johannes Turce, moneyer of Canterbury, and Richard de Neketon, of London. As the name of Richard does not appear later than Class VII we can further extend the date of this class by two years. But as three moneyers of the name of John were coining in Class VII at Canterbury no conclusions can be drawn from the death of John Turce, for one of the other two would probably have dropped the

<sup>1</sup> *Patent Roll*, A.D. 1223.

initial after his name, and have continued to coin in that of John only—whether John Chic, or John FR, we cannot tell.

A summary, therefore, from a consideration of these dates, would give us the following:—Class I began in 1180; Class II in 1189; Class III*b* was in issue in 1196; Class V*a* began in 1205, possibly, also Class V*b*; Class V*c* was in issue in 1210, the date of the Irish coinage.

There are, however, some particulars which may help us a step further. The year 1218, as already shown, was the date of the grant to Randulf of Rouen of the place on which the monetaria of Northampton was situated. I think we are justified in concluding that the mint by now had ceased work. The latest coin I know from the Northampton mint before 1247 is of Class V*c*, so that it would seem a warrantable conclusion that 1218 saw the end of Class V*c* and the beginning of Class VI under the rule of William Marshall. This latter class finishes the coinages of Winchester and York, owing, no doubt to the orders given in 1223. Accordingly the four large mints would probably start the coinage of Class VII, as we know of moneyers appointed in 1222 whose names appear only on that class. So the years 1218 to 1222, or 1223, would cover the issue of Class VI. The last date suggested would, at least, show the beginning of Class VII, which, as we have seen, was certainly continued so late as 1237. In 1242 Nicholas de Sancto Albano was appointed to some high office in the two mints of London and Canterbury, and it is fair to suppose that Class VIII, which bears his name at both mints, followed, at some time, after this appointment. It may have been so early as 1242, for we have many varieties of his coins at both mints to fill in the time between that year and 1247, when the short-cross coinage ended.

#### THE PROPER SEQUENCE OF THE TYPES.

In arranging the coins belonging to the earlier classes of the short-cross coinage we have little beyond the eye to help us. It may thus be that in Classes II and III the varieties may require at a future time some alteration, but these two classes obviously were

issued after Class I and before Class IV. As regards the position of Class IV to Class *Va*, I think there can be no doubt, nor that Class *Vb* followed immediately after *Va*; if indeed it did not run in part concurrently. From here onward to the end of the coinage in 1247 we are able to use the invaluable help of the St. Edmundsbury mint. I need hardly apologise for reminding my readers that the mint of St. Edmundsbury was allowed but one moneyer at a time and that an old die had to be returned before a new die could be obtained. The moneyers, therefore, were in sequence and the dies also.

Now Bury St. Edmunds was one of the sixteen mints summoned to the great inquisition of moneyers in 1208 by King John. The coinage then in issue was type V. So far I have been unable to trace a coin of Class *Va*, but Class *Vb* is quite common, and all the coins of this class were struck by the moneyer Fulke. In Class *Vc*, we again find his name on a coin in the British Museum. He first uses the mint name **•S•EDM**, then replaces the **e** with an **Æ**, so that we find **S•EDM**, **S•ÆDM** and **S•ADMV**, all in Class *Vb*. When we come to Class *Vc* he uses the name **S•ÆND**, and this is the latest coin I can find with Fulke's name. Presumably he disappeared, and now the St. Edmundsbury coins bear the name of Rauf. These extend through the whole of Class VI and on into Class VII. The mint name is now **SAN**, **SANT** **SANTE** and **SANTEA**. Following Rauf are three moneyers in succession, William, Norman, and Simon, all in Class VII, and finally, and most happily, John, in Class VIII. I say most happily, because John was the first moneyer at St. Edmundsbury when the long-cross coinage came into existence, and this name gives us a long-looked-for link between the short-cross issues and those of the long cross. The sequence, therefore, of Classes V, VI, VII and VIII at St. Edmundsbury must be absolutely correct, and it gives the key to the whole arrangement for the other mints.

#### LETTERING.

The forms of the letters vary, as may be expected, not only in the various classes but often in the same class. In the latter case we may feel sure that there is some unsettled condition at work, such as a fresh

issue, and that the coins exhibiting most variation are probably the earliest of the group within the class. Certain letters are more capable of changes of form than others. A may be barred or not, C and E may be square or round, whereas I, N and S do not lend themselves to much variation.

*Class Ia.*—The A is unbarred. The C and E are sometimes square and sometimes round, and the round variety is sometimes open and sometimes closed. The same variations may be noticed even on the same side of the same coin.

H is always round, **h**. M is found in two forms, either **M** or **Ⓜ**, perhaps more commonly the latter. X varies from a plain cross to the form with serifs, **x**. Speaking generally, serifs are present on all the straight letters and the uprights of these letters are slightly wider in the middle than at either end, thus **l**. The average measurement of the uprights is 2·5 millimetres and all the letters conform fairly well with this gauge. I have only seen one case of ligation, **nc** in **WINE** = Winchester.

*Class Ib.*—The square C and E are not found, though both forms of the round letters, open and closed, are common. The square M is the usual letter. The X still varies. The gauge remains 2·5 mm. I do not remember having seen any case of ligation.

*Class Ic.*—The uprights are as a rule distinctly thicker and more clumsy than in Class Ib, and this is one of the features which gives the coin its look of coarseness. The forms of the letters do not, however, vary from those in Class Ib. The X is perhaps becoming more regularly of the form **ⓧ**, in which the outer points of the cross are slightly rounded rather than square. Gauge 2·5 mm.

*Class II.*—Irregularity and carelessness in spacing the letters are now more observable, though the general forms of the letters are retained. The upright letters, I, N, etc., still gauge to 2·5 mm., but some of the round letters, C, D, etc., are shorter, so that the whole of the legend does not fill equally the space between the outer and inner circles.

*Class III.*—The letters conform both in shape and size with those found on Class II, except that the uprights occasionally are slightly longer.

*Class IV.*—We now find the most careless lettering in the whole of the series treated. The upright letters still gauge to 2·5 mm. Their thickness, however, varies considerably. The serifs, which are often very long as compared with the thickness of the uprights they are supposed to finish off, are commonly so badly struck into the die, that in some cases they do not act as finials at all. The top or bottom of the upright is often visible above or below the serif.

The letter S shows considerable variation. In what are probably the early varieties of Class IV it is a normal letter. A form then follows in which the curves in the middle of the letter are confused. On many of the coins with this letter the **æ**'s are represented as **α**'s, and they do not conform in size with the other letters. On the latest members of Class IV, those struck by moneyers who also struck in Class Va, the S is reversed and becomes **z**. Plate III, Figs. 23, 24. This is important, as this reversal is found on all true coins of Class Va, and it is a strong point in favour of the sequence IV, Va. It will be remembered that Class IV gives us the first examples of the mint-mark cross pommée. In this class also occasional ligation is observable.

*Class Va.*—With the new coinage, of which this is the first class, a great improvement is noticeable. The letters are well and regularly worked into the dies.

The A is now sometimes barred, sometimes not. The B, D, and R have, frequently at the top and bottom of the two former and the top of the latter, a long-drawn-out wedge, thus **BD R**. The S on nearly all coins in this class is reversed as **z**, whether it appears on the obverse or reverse. It can thus be seen that the obverse die was made for the reverse, which latter it will be remembered is marked with the cross pommée. Besides these otherwise normal letters, we now for the first time observe what are known as ornamental letters. They are **æ æ** and **R**, and I am indebted to Mr. Andrew for their careful reproduction in the accompanying drawing, Fig. 1. The ordinary



FIG. 1.—ORNAMENTAL LETTERS ON CLASS Va. ENLARGED TO 3 DIAMETERS.

plain strokes of the letters are curiously curved, and frequently end in pellets. Plate III, Fig. 25. Sir John Evans described in this class coins with colons between some letters. They are, however, only these pellets where the curve of the letter is badly struck up and indistinct. A pellet is also occasionally seen thus, **R.** It will be remembered that the class is a reversion to Class I, from which it was evidently copied, and it is interesting to note, therefore, the occasional use of the old open form of the round **a**. The square X, as **x**, is characteristic of the class. I have not noted these particular ornamental letters on any other class than *Va*, except in the case of Chichester. They must not be confused with the same letters rather differently treated, which will be described under Class VI, a distinction, unfortunately, not noticed in Sir John Evans's classification. When they are found on the obverse of Class *Vb* I am inclined to look upon the coin as a mule between Class *Va* and *Vb*. Compare Plate III, Fig. 31. In the same way I suggest that a reversed S would show muling if found with an obverse or reverse of Class *Vb*. Plate III, Fig. 30. I have several coins of this description, and the obverse is always a very early form. The coins with ornamental letters appear to have been struck by four moneyers at London and four at Canterbury. So far I have only discovered one coin struck at a provincial mint, namely, Chichester, by Rauf, which has these letters, and curiously enough the S on my specimen is not reversed.

The uprights on Class *Va* follow the old scale of 2.5 mm., and the round letters fit in with these, and are of about the same length.

*Class Vb* only differs from Class *Va* in the mint-mark and the letter **z**, therefore we should not expect, and do not get, much variation; what there is, being chiefly by omission. No ornamental letters. The letters are of the same gauge.

*Class Vc*.—The remaining member of the class is not quite so well worked. The X, characteristic of the class, is now of the shape of a St. Andrew's cross, and is composed of four wedges, **x**. The size of the uprights is still 2.5 mm.

*Class VI*.—We now come to a class where the uprights measure 3 mm. The letters are therefore longer, and they are made to appear

longer still by the thinness of the uprights, and by the shortness of the connecting strokes in such letters as M and N. The other letters are not kept uniform with this standard, but are shorter, more particularly B, D, and R. Some coins of this class again show ornamental letters, but the style of work is quite different and distinct from that shown under Class Va. Again I am indebted to Mr. Andrew for their reproduction in the accompanying sketch, Fig. 2.

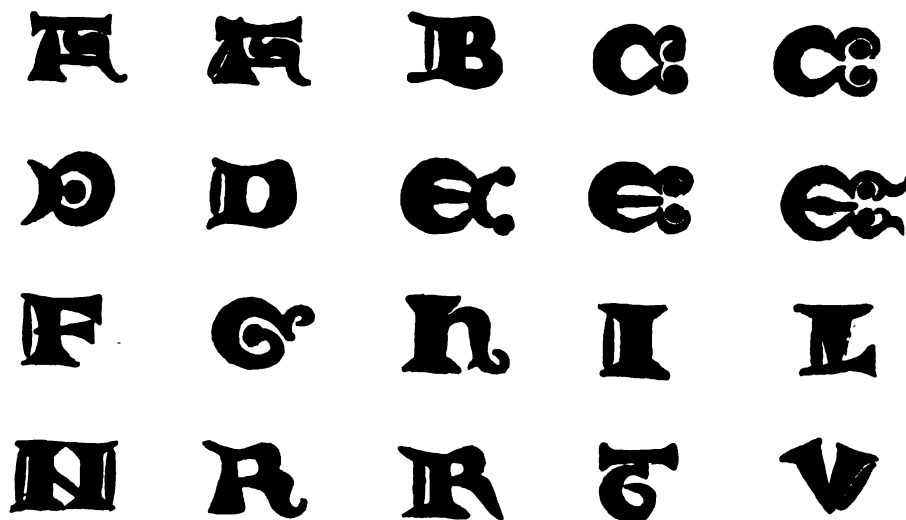


FIG. 2.—ORNAMENTAL LETTERS ON CLASS VI. ENLARGED TO 2.5 DIAMETERS.

The letters are varied, A has a curiously curved second stroke, **A**. The uprights of all the letters may be duplicated, the commonest to appear in this condition being the D of **LVND**. C and E are ornamented in four ways, thus, **C C C C**. **h** sometimes appears as **h**, and T as **T**. The X, is of course, characteristic of the group, as **X**. Plate IV, Figs. 39-41. The bust on the coins bearing ornamental letters differs from another bust found in Class VI by having the curls continued up to the level of the diadem, and thus approaches that on the next class. On some very late coins of Class VI we find lettering resembling that found on Class VII, in that B, D and R lose the long wedges above referred to, and are finished with much smaller strokes.

*Class VII.*—New irons must have been made for this class, as the letters shown on the coins average 2.3 mm., but are often 2 mm. only.

They are neatly filled in to the die and do not show marked variation except the M, which is frequently barred straight across, like the letter H. There are no peculiar nor ornamental letters.

*Class VIII.*—We must now consider the last class of the short-cross coinage. It will be remembered that considerable deterioration of workmanship occurred, becoming progressively worse. The latest members of the class all agree accurately in these features, and the letters take part in the general scheme. These on coins with the mint-mark cross pommée now measure only 2 mm., and are therefore very short; but not only are they short but the uprights are thick and generally curved inwards in the middle, and where two occur, as in N, they are set wide apart. The round letters are also very wide. There are no peculiar forms of the letters and no ornamental letters.

#### PUNCTUATION.

Punctuation is evident on most of the coins. The dot between **HENRICVS** and **REX** is characteristic of Classes Ia and Ib, occasionally it occurs on Ic. On Classes II, III, and IV I have not noticed it. On Classes V and VI it occurs occasionally, but with no regularity. It does not appear on Class VII, and on Class VIII there may be one, two, or three pellets dividing the two words, or none at all.

On the reverse the first six classes invariably have a dot on either side of the word **ON**, except occasionally in Class IIb, when a colon is used; but the dot is omitted on Class VII, and one, two, or three dots, as on the obverse, may reappear on the reverse in Class VIII. In Class VII, however, we very frequently find a pellet separating two letters of a word, as has already been noted in the classification.

#### THE SCEPTRE.

The sceptre usually divides the legend in all classes between the **R** and **Æ** of **Rex**, but sometimes it is between the **Æ** and **X**, and rarely the whole word **REX** is found by the side of the sceptre. When the **X** is alone in this position, a dot is generally found on either side of it, thus, **•X•**.



Certain coins by Fulke and Henri of London, in Class Vb, are known with the sceptre on the left, and the legend begins below. One coin by each moneyer is known, and the same obverse die was used by both moneyers.

#### THE MINTS.

When Henry Plantagenet succeeded to the throne and produced a new coinage, he set thirty mints to manufacture it; but probably all these mints did not continue to work all the time. However this may be, when the coins of the Tealby type were replaced in 1180, twelve mints were required to produce the new issue; thus in Class I we find Carlisle, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Wilton, Winchester, Worcester, and York. Some of these mints did not even survive to strike the coarser varieties known as Class Ic. The mints thus dropping out were Wilton and Worcester.

The lists of coins of Classes II and III are very incomplete, but I have noted in Class II, Canterbury, Lincoln, London, Oxford, Winchester, York, and of course Lichfield.

Class III was struck at Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Shrewsbury, Winchester, and York.

Class IV, a well-defined class at all these places except Exeter and Winchester, which may still be found. Coins previously given to Chichester and Ilchester have been shown by Mr. Brooke, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1910, to belong either to Canterbury or York.

Class V was struck at the mints mentioned under Class III, except Shrewsbury, which was permanently closed; and as it was a new coinage, and therefore more money would be required to replace the withdrawn coins, old mints were reopened and some new mints added. These were Chichester, Ipswich, Lynn, Oxford, Rochester, and St. Edmundsbury; and the moneyers of these sixteen mints were those summoned to the great inquisition of moneyers in 1208. These mints were at work from before 1208 for a period of years ending in 1218, and although some of them may have dropped out shortly before that

time, the majority continued to strike in Class Vc. Those mints of which I have been unable to find coins of this variety are Carlisle, Chichester, Exeter, Lynn, Oxford, and Rochester, so that ten mints remained at work producing this latest variety, Vc.

Class VI suffered a great curtailment of mints, as only London, Canterbury, St. Edmundsbury, Durham, Winchester, and York struck in this class. The reason has now been made clear to us, for in the patent roll under date 1218, February 21st, we find that these mints, and these only, were all placed under the authority of William Marshall, and a little later in the same year, in August, the place where the Northampton mint had stood was given to Randulf of Rouen. Winchester at this time seems to have been reduced to one active moneyer, and York to four. Neither of the two mints remained open long enough to strike the later coins of Class VI, for there are no known coins of these mints with ornamental letters, nor with a bust progressing to type VII, nor did they strike in type VII. This is accounted for by the king's ordinance of February, 1223, already quoted.

Class VII was struck at the four mints, London, Canterbury, St. Edmundsbury, and Durham. Coins of all of them are plentiful and they produced the whole currency of the country. Mention under this class must be made of Oxford, which produced a coin with an obverse of this type by the moneyer **hælis**. The coin, however, shows extraordinary work on the reverse, although it is of full weight and of good metal. The only example is in the British Museum.

Class VIII shows the loss of the mint of Durham, and thus is reduced to the three mints at which the early long-cross coins were first struck.

In continuing the reference to mints, it is to be noted that some of the principal mints did not strike all the types, thus we get no Canterbury coins of Class I. This is probably to be accounted for by the troubles in which the town was involved owing to the murder of Thomas à Becket, which was perpetrated on December 29th, 1170. When the coins of the earlier issue of Henry II. come to be classified we

shall perhaps find that Canterbury coins are absent from 1170 to 1180. At Durham we know that there was friction between the king and the County Palatine, which was only settled in 1196, when the bishop accordingly was again granted his dies. We therefore have no early coins of Durham.

Thomas Carlyle, in his "Past and Present," gives us a fine picture of the incompetence of one abbot of St. Edmundsbury, Abbot Hugo, and of the steps taken by his wiser successor, Abbot Samson, to place matters on a better footing. Samson was appointed in 1182, and it probably took many years before the finances of the abbey were put into sufficiently good condition to enable work to go on profitably at the mint. This may be the explanation of the absence from that mint of all the types before Class V. The want of continuity in the provincial mints is probably explainable by two different causes. Firstly, many of them were opened for a special reason, that of getting much coin made in the shortest possible time, and when made the mint lapsed; and secondly, the absence of coins through want of discovery. There are thus several gaps in Class Va, which time may fill up.

#### THE MONEYS.

We do not know much of the status of the moneyer during the times under discussion, but he was evidently not a workman, and he must have obtained skilled labour for the productions from his die. His name, however, on the coin was a guarantee of purity of metal and full weight. Lists show us the same name on coins of many types, and when these types are successive, or nearly so, we may generally conclude that coins bearing the same name at the same mint were issued by the same moneyer. When two or more moneyers of the same name were at work at the same place and time, it was necessary to distinguish between them, and this accounts for the letters following a moneyer's name on short-cross coins. In London we find Henry and Henri Pi both in Classes Ia and Ib. Pieres and Pieres M were evidently different men. Neither of them was probably the same man as the Pires who struck in type VI, as the name had been absent from many successive

types. A Willelm was striking in 1180 and all the successive types to Vc, possibly to 1218. This looks as if one William followed another almost immediately, as nearly forty years would appear to be too long a time to assign to the period of activity of one moneyer. Although there is but the one name of Adam on the London coins, we know that there must have been two of the name at work, for the second, Adam de Bedeleie, was not appointed until long after the time when the name is first shown on the coinage. Evidently these two Adams could not have been at work together at any time, for otherwise one would have had some distinguishing initial following his name. Instances of this sort could be shown to be of frequent occurrence. There were at one time three or four Williams at work together at London, and two or three Richards. There were three Johns at Canterbury and two Rogers.

In a few instances the spelling of the moneyers' names changed with the fashion of the times, and it is of considerable help in classifying their coins. In Class Ia at London we find a moneyer signing his coin Randulf; a little later, in Class Ib, the final f is dropped, and the name becomes Randul; and later still it is further contracted into Raul. The coins with these changes of name were all issued within a period of some ten years or so, and there is no reason to suppose they were not issued by the same moneyer. A further change in the same name took place years after, from Raul to Rauf, but here we know that Raul of Class II, 1189, could not have been the same man as Rauf of Class Vc, as all the intermediate types are missing.

The name Reinald occurs at Canterbury on Class III; but when Class IV was reached the name had become Renaud, an obvious reason for placing the classes in succession. The same name Reinald occurs at Norwich, but there appears to have been some uncertainty about it, for two classes have in each Reinald and Renaud, but eventually only Renaud survives. Roberd at Canterbury changes to Robert, whilst Iohan at the same place becomes Ioan, and later, in long-cross times, Ion only.

I have noticed several instances of two moneyers at the same mint using the same obverse die. This is not remarkable, as moneyers

probably worked side by side. In one instance, however, the same obverse die was used at Canterbury by Reinaud, and then at Shrewsbury by Ive. The condition of the die would lead one to suppose that it was sent from Canterbury to Shrewsbury. Plate I, Fig. 8, illustrates its use at Canterbury.

#### FINDS.

A few words on finds may be of interest. The principal hoards discovered are those found at Eccles, about 1865, of some 5,000 coins, the Colchester hoard in 1902, of nearly 11,000, and a small hoard of some 500 coins found in France, the date of the finding of which I do not know. Earlier still short-cross coins were found at Newry, in Ireland, and in Yorkshire. A find, said to have been from the neighbourhood of the Vatican, date unknown, is previously referred to, and is as yet unpublished. These earlier hoards are of little use to us in the classification, as in the larger finds all the types were said to have occurred, and the classification then in vogue was not sufficiently distinctive to be of use for the purposes of this paper. I myself am one of the guilty, for I endeavoured to describe the French find some years ago, but I had not then appreciated differences which are now only too apparent; consequently I followed the old five-class descriptions. A little, however, can be made out of the material, and that only in reference to Class VIII. In the old days the coins with the cross pommée were considered rare, and therefore were carefully noted. Now, in the two large hoards, Eccles and Colchester, the name of Nichole appears in the lists of London and Canterbury coins, but he is not credited with the cross pommée. In the French find no such name appears at either mint. This moneyer, be it remembered, struck in Class VII and Class VIII, in which latter class his coins bear the mint-mark cross pommée. The conclusions are obvious:—Class VII was present in all these hoards, then called Class V, but the French find was deposited earlier than those of either Eccles or Colchester. Coins of Class VIII of late type were absent from all of them, thus showing the distinct sequence of Classes VII and VIII.

THE RHUDDLAN MINT.

Before concluding this story of the short-cross coinage, some reference should be made to certain coins of the short-cross types which do not agree with the normal coins in style or workmanship. This is the case with those issued from the mint at Rhuddlan. We know nothing of the constitution of the mint at this period, and the coins are not made with the regular mint irons such as were used for all the issues previously described. It is, therefore, difficult to classify them accurately with the coins of the regular English mints.

That they are genuine coins made at Rhuddlan there can be no doubt, but they vary greatly among themselves both in the busts and in the lettering, and many of them have the legend on the reverse retrograde. The mint-marks are two, the cross pattée and the cross pommée, and probably the presence of this latter mark induced numismatic writers to class the coins bearing it with those now forming Class Va, the others being given to the old Class II. The coins clearly do not bear any resemblance to the series properly belonging to these two classes.

There is, however, a distinct resemblance to the coins now described under Classes VII and VIII, both in the design of the bust, and in the presence of the two mint-marks.

The moneyers are four in number, Henricus, Halli, Simond and Tomas. I have found only the cross pattée mint-mark on the coins by Henricus, but the three other moneyers used both forms. In this way the coins fall into line with those of Nichole struck at London and Canterbury, who used both marks, as also did the Canterbury moneyer John. It is unfortunate that the use of totally different irons for making the dies prevents us from drawing more definite conclusions. Major Carlyon-Britton's paper on the Rhuddlan Mint, in Volume II of this *Journal*, refers in detail to these coins, and illustrates many of them.

Since the above was written Mr. Andrew has kindly referred to the English and Welsh chronicles of the period, and finds that there were two occasions only during short-cross times, that is, between

1180 and 1247, when Rhuddlan Castle was in English hands. First, in 1211, when King John led an expedition into North Wales so far as Snowdon and compelled Llywelyn and most of the other princes of North Wales to submit to him.<sup>1</sup> Apparently he rebuilt Rhuddlan Castle, for the *Brut* tells us that he built many castles in Gwynedd, and upon his return to England the Welsh "subdued all of them, except Dyganwy and Rhuddlan." Under the year 1213, however, the same authority tells us that "Llywelyn, son of Iorwerth, reduced the castle of Dyganwy and the castle of Rhuddlan."

The second occasion was in 1240, when, upon the death of Llywelyn, his son David submitted to Henry III., his uncle, and went to Gloucester to pay him homage that he might "receive from him his territories lawfully," and there is little doubt that Rhuddlan remained under the English crown until the close of our period of enquiry and after, for in 1277 Edward I. was there in person and ordered the castle dykes to be reconstructed.<sup>2</sup>

The earlier of these two incidents is inadmissible for the issue of the Rhuddlan series, for the English coins with the first cross pommée mint-mark had long been out of issue. Moreover, the castle was only held by the English for the two years from 1211 to 1213, which is too short a period for the varied issue, and it was a time of constant war, for in 1212 King John again attempted to invade Wales, but was called away by other dangers. The mint would therefore not be likely to be revived, and it is highly improbable that any coins of English type and with an English sovereign's name upon them would have emanated from Rhuddlan under Welsh authority.

In 1240, however, the circumstances were entirely different, for the Welsh prince was a nephew of the English king, and formal peace had been declared and homage paid; so there was nothing to prevent the revival of the mint at Rhuddlan and its issue of English money from dies of local manufacture. This period, from 1240 to 1247, exactly corresponds with the issue of Classes VII and VIII of the English series, and I have already shown that the Rhuddlan coins

<sup>1</sup> *Matt. of Westminster*, and the *Brut y Tywysogion*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Brut*.

must be attributable to them. There was, also, ample time for the output and for the employment of the four moneyers. It is interesting to notice how completely the historical evidence falls into line with the numismatic evidence, derived from the coins themselves and such meagre records as have been preserved to us, mainly of the deaths or appointments of certain of the moneyers at the English mints.

#### IRREGULAR COINS.

There are, however, many coins of short-cross types which must be looked upon as of at least very doubtful origin. These pieces are of quite different fabric from the normal issues, and they have legends which in many cases make no sense. They may be continental copies, or forgeries pure and simple. Amongst them I should class those coins which bear the legend **CIVITAS LVNDE**. Their bad design and unofficial lettering, and the impossibility of their fitting anywhere into the series, clearly prevents us from considering them genuine English coins, although they have been present in the larger hoards. The same view applies to a coin in my collection reading **✠ VICTORIS ON V** and to some coins in the National Collection struck by Everard of York and by one of the Williams of London. It will be remembered that Mr. Fox and Mr. Shirley-Fox ruthlessly excluded from their lists of coins of Edward I. and II. all coins of bad work made with unofficial irons, and doubtless they were right to do so. They and Mr. Brooke entirely agree with me in so excluding the corresponding coins of the short-cross types.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE LISTS AND PLATES.

A few words of explanation of the lists and plates which follow may help the reader to a clearer view of the suggestions brought forward in the preceding pages. The lists of the moneyers' names have not been arranged alphabetically, but somewhat roughly to correspond with the dates of the coins first struck by them. The lists therefore commence with the names of those moneyers who began to strike in



early types. In the same way late moneyers will be found occupying a corresponding place lower down. In all cases where it has been possible to be sure that identical names on the coins represent different moneyers, they will be found twice in the list. Thus under the London mint the name **PIERES** is given in the first part, and again there is **PIRES** some distance lower down. The name of **RICARD** is also found twice, and there are other examples.

In at least one case, that of **ADAM** previously referred to, although we know that two men of the name were at work, we have no means of being sure when the earlier moneyer ceased, and therefore all the types struck by these two men have had to be placed under one name.

In endeavouring to rearrange on a new plan such a large coinage as that treated, there are sure to be many specimens which for one reason or another do not agree accurately with the words used in describing the characters of the types. An engraver may have used a wrong iron, say for the letter X in Class V, and may have thus produced a coin, say of Class Vc, with an X of Class Vb. Or a coin may be in such bad condition that sometimes really characteristic features are missing. In these cases a query is added to the list. The meaning is that it is not quite clear whether the coin belongs to the class it is placed under or to that on either side of it.

It was quite impossible to definitely place certain coins in any class whatever, and in these cases also a note of interrogation is added. Such was the case of the two examples by **ADAM** and **ILGER** given with a query to Class VIII. Each is really an example by itself, but both are more like Class VIII than they are like any of the other classes. Happily there are very few of these queried coins.

The lists further aim at a rather more minute classification of the coins of Classes VI and VII. Words can hardly explain the differences which are well shown on the plates. With regard to Class VI the bust on VIa is like that on the preceding class Vc, and that on VIc compares with Class VII. The subdivision used in Class VII is more in relation to the size of the bust, which becomes progressively smaller without losing its general characters.

The uses of the plates are twofold. Firstly, Plate I, to make clear the references to classification, and to show the different types. Secondly, Plates II–IV, to exhibit so far as is possible all the intermediate links between one class and another.

Plate I is a simple plate of types without any connecting links. Plates II, III and IV exhibit these links from Class Ia to Class VIII. Attention may be particularly drawn to Figs. 24 to 32, which are all by the moneyer Willelm, the series being finished by the four coins following, all by Ricard B.

Figs. 46 to 51 all represent coins by Nichole of London showing variations from Class VII to Class VIII.

## THE TYPES STRUCK AT THE VARIOUS MINTS.

Mints.	Classes.														
	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.	VII.	VIII.	
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	—	—	—	
London ...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Canterbury...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
St. Edmundsbury	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	
Durham ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
York ...	...	x	x	x	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Winchester ...	..	x	x	x	x	...	x	x	...	x	x	x	x		
Lincoln ...	...	x	x	x	x	...	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Northampton	...	x	x	x	...	...	x	...	x	...	x	x			
Norwich ...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x			
Exeter ...	...	x	x	x	...	...	...	x	...	x	x				
Oxford ...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	<sup>1</sup> x?		
Carlisle ...	...	x	x	x	...	...	x	x	x	...	x				
Lichfield ...	...	...	...	...	x										
Shrewsbury	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x							
Chichester ...	...	...	..	...	...	...	..	...	x	x					
Ipswich ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x				
Lynn ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x					
Rochester ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x					
Wilton ...	...	x	x												
Worcester ...	...	...	x												

<sup>1</sup> A coin of very doubtful origin.

## THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS.

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
LONDON.																	
AIMER ...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
FILAIMER ...	...	x	x														
PIERES ...	...	x	x	x	x												
PIERES M	...	x	x														
RANDVL	...	x	x														
RAVL	...	x	x	x	x												
HENRI <sup>1</sup> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	x	x	x							
HENRI PI	...	x	x														
WILLIAM <sup>1</sup> ...	...	x	x	x	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	...	...	...	x
IOHAN ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x
ALAIN ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	x									x
ALAIN V...	...	x	x														
ALWARD	...	x	x														
GODARD...	...	x	x														
OSBER ...	...	x	x														
REINALD	...	x	x														
IEFRAI ...	...	x	x														
DAVI ...	...	x	x	x													
GILBERT	...	x	x														
GOLDWINE	...	x	x	...	...	...	x	x									
STIVENS ...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
RICARD <sup>1</sup> ...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
FVLK <sup>1</sup> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x						
ANDREV ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
ALEXANDER	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
ARNAVD...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
ADAM ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	...	x	x	x	x
BENET ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
ILGAR <sup>2</sup> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
RENER ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
RICARD B	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
RICARD T	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
WILLIAM B	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
WILLIAM L	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
WILLIAM T	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
ABEL <sup>2</sup> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<sup>1</sup> Used the letter S reversed in Class IV, and ornamental letters in Class V.<sup>2</sup> Used ornamental letters in Class VI.

THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*contd.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	—	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>c.</i>	—
LONDON— <i>cont.</i>																	
<b>RAVF</b> <sup>1</sup> } ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	?	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>RAVLF</b> } ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>WALTER</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>PIRES</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>ELIS</b> } ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>HELIS</b> } ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>GEFRÆI</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>LADVLF</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>TERRI</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>RICARD</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
de Neketon ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	
<b>NICHOLAS</b> ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	×	×	×	×	×	×

<sup>1</sup> Used ornamental letters in Class VI.

THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*contd.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
CANTERBURY.																	
MEINIR ...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x									
REINALD ...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x									
REINAVD ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x									
VLARD ...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x									
BERNAV D	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x								
ARNAV D	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
GOLDWIN <sup>1</sup>	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
HVE <sup>2</sup>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x						
ROBERD <sup>3</sup>	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	...	x	x		
IOHAN <sup>5</sup>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	...	x?	x	...	x
SAMVEL <sup>5</sup>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	...	...	x
SIMVN <sup>5</sup>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	x	x	x	x	x	
SIMON	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x?	...	x			
IOHAN B...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
IOHAN M	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
ANDREV...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
WALTER...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	x	x	...	...	x
HENRI <sup>4</sup>	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x
HIVN	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x				
IVN	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x			
IOAN	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	x	...	x	x	x	
ROGER	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	x
ARNOLD	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x					
RAVF	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x						
TOMAS	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	x	x	
SALEMVN	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x		
IOAN CHID	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x		
IOAN FR...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x		
NORMAN	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x		
OSMVND...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	
ROBERT VI	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	
ROGER OF R	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	
WILLELM TA	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	
WILLELM	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x
NICHOL	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x		x

<sup>1</sup> Used the letter S reversed in Class IV.<sup>2</sup> Used ornamental letters in Class V.<sup>3</sup> Used S reversed in Class IV, and ornamental letters in Class V.<sup>4</sup> Used ornamental letters in Class VI.<sup>5</sup> Used S reversed in Class IV, and ornamental letters in Class VI.

THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*contd.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
CARLISLE.																	
<b>ALAIN</b> ...	x	x	x	...	...	x	x	x	...								
<b>TOMAS</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
CHICHESTER.																	
<b>PIERRES</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>RAVF</b> <sup>1</sup> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x							
<b>SIMON</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x							
<b>WILLIELM</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
DURHAM.																	
<b>ADAM</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x										
<b>ALAIN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x									
<b>PIERRES</b> <sup>2</sup> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	...	x			
EXETER.																	
<b>ASKETIL</b> ...	...	x															
<b>IORDAN</b> ...	x	x															
<b>OSBER</b> ...	x	x	x														
<b>RAVL</b> ...	...	x															
<b>ROGER</b> ...	...	x															
<b>RICHARD</b> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	x	...	x	x							
<b>GILBERT</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x							
<b>IOHAN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x							
IPSWICH.																	
<b>ALISANDRE</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
<b>IOHAN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						

<sup>1</sup> Used ornamental letters in Class V.<sup>2</sup> Used the letter S reversed in Class IV.

THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*cont.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
LICHFIELD.																	
IOAN ...	...	...	...	x													
LINCOLN.																	
GIRARD ...	...	x															
HUGO ...	...	x															
LEFWINE ...	...	x	x	x	...	x	x										
RODBERT ...	...	x															
WALTER ...	...	x															
WILLHELM ...	...	x	x														
WILL·D·F ...	...	x															
EDMVND ...	...	x	x														
RANDVL ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x									
RAVF ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
ALAIN ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x								
ANDREV ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x					
RICARD ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x							
IOHAN ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x								
HUGO ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
TOMAS ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
LYNN.																	
IOHAN ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
NICOLA ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
WILLHELM ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
NORTHAMPTON.																	
FILIP ...	x	x															
GEFRG ...	...	x															
HUGO ...	x	x															
RAVL ...	x	x															
SIMVND ...	...	x															
WALTER ...	x	x	x	x	...	...	x										

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THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*cont.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
NORTHAMPTON— <i>cont.</i>																	
<b>RANDVL</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x									
<b>ROBERD</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	x							
<b>ROBERD T</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>ADAM</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
NORWICH.																	
<b>REINOLD</b> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	x	x								
<b>REINOLD</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x							
<b>GEFRÆI</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
<b>WILLÆLM</b> ...	...	x	...	...	...	...	x	x									
<b>IOHAN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x						
OXFORD.																	
<b>ASKETIL</b> ...	...	x															
<b>GEFRÆI</b> ...	...	x															
<b>OWEIN</b> ...	...	x															
<b>RODBERT</b> ...	...	x															
<b>STOAR</b> ...	...	x															
<b>RICARD</b> ...	...	x	...	x													
<b>ÆILWINE</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>HENRI</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>MILES</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>ÆELIS</b> <sup>1</sup> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x			
RHUDDLAN. (See end of list.)																	
ROCHESTER.																	
<b>ÆLISANDRE</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>ÆVNFRÆI</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>ANDREU</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							

<sup>1</sup> The workmanship of this coin is very doubtful.

THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*cont.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
SHREWSBURY.																	
<b>IVG</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x									
<b>WILLGM</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	x											
St. EDMUNDSBURY.																	
<b>FVLK</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
<b>RAVF</b> <sup>1</sup> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x			
<b>WILLGM</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x			
<b>NORMAN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	
<b>SIMVND</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	
<b>IOBAN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x
WILTON.																	
<b>OSBER</b> ...	...	x															
<b>RODBERT</b> ...	x	x															
WINCHESTER.																	
<b>CLEMENT</b> ...	x	x															
<b>GODALM</b> ...	...	x	x	x	...	x	x										
<b>RODBERT</b> ...	x	x	x														
<b>OSBER[N]</b> ...	x	x	...	...	...	x											
<b>ADAM</b> ...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
<b>HENRI</b> ...	x	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x?	...	...	x				
<b>REINIER</b> ...	...	x															
<b>WILLGM</b> ...	...	...	...	x	...	x	x										
<b>RAVF</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
<b>PIRES</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	x											
<b>IOBAN</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	x				
<b>ANDREW</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
<b>BARTOLME</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x						
<b>IVKAS</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							
<b>MILES</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x						
<b>RICARD</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x							

<sup>1</sup> Used ornamental letters in Class VI.

THE MONEYS, THEIR TYPES AND MINTS—*cont.*

	I.			II.		III.		IV.	V.			VI.		VII.			VIII.
	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	—	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	a.	b.	c.	—
WORCESTER.																	
<b>EDRIC</b> ...	...	x															
<b>GODWINE</b> ...	...	x															
<b>OSBER</b> ...	...	x															
<b>OSLAD</b> ...	...	x															
YORK.																	
<b>EVERARD</b> ...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
<b>EVGO</b> ...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
<b>ISAD</b> ...	x	x															
<b>EVNFRGI</b> ...	x	x															
<b>TVRKIL</b> ...	x	x		x	x	x		x									
<b>ALAIN</b> ...	x	x															
<b>GERARD</b> ...	x	x															
<b>WILLIAM</b> ...	x												x				
<b>DAVI</b> <sup>1</sup> ...								x	x	x							
<b>NIGOLE</b> <sup>1</sup> ...								x	x	x	x						
<b>IOHAN</b> ...									x	x				x			
<b>RENAVD</b> ...										x							
<b>TOMAS</b> ...										x				x			
<b>PERES</b> ...														x			
<i>Irregular.</i>																	
RHUDDLAN.																	
<b>HENRICVS</b> ...																	x
<b>HALLI</b> ...																x	x
<b>SIMON</b> ...																x	x
<b>TOMAS</b> <sup>2</sup> ...																	x

<sup>1</sup> Used the letter S reversed in Class IV.<sup>2</sup> Approximately Class VIII.

## THE LONG-CROSS COINAGE OF HENRY III. AND EDWARD I.

*Continued from Volumes IX and X.*

BY L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.

**T**HE subject-matter in the following pages is confined almost entirely to a consideration of the provincial mints of Bristol, Carlisle, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Ilchester, Lincoln, Newcastle, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Wallingford, Wilton, Winchester, and York.

We have concerning them a document transcribed in the appendix to *John of Oxenedes's Chronicle* and again in Hall's *Red Book of the Exchequer*, giving orders for a trial of the Pyx in London and a list of the moneyers, custodes, assayers and clerks at each of these mints. The moneyers and custodes were each four in number, with two assayers and one clerk. There are some slight variations of readings between the two transcripts. The date given in the appendix to *John of Oxenedes's Chronicle* is anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis xxxij<sup>o</sup> die Mercurii proxima ante festum Gregorii.

The record continues, ordering the choice of men qualified to act as jurors in a trial to be held at Westminster, under the authority of the Barons of the Exchequer. Directions are also given referring to correct weight, etc. The document includes a complete list of all the provincial mints, with the names of all the moneyers, assayers, custodes, and clerks. These names have been placed at the head of each list of the coins issued at the various mints. It will occasionally be noted that the same man served in two capacities in his mint, also that in one case at least the same name occurs at two different mints. Thus William the goldsmith is assayer at both Carlisle and Newcastle. It is of course quite possible there were two men designated as Willelmus Aurifaber, but Carlisle and Newcastle are not very far apart and the mint establishments seem to have had some kind of connection.

Coins of all the moneyers mentioned in the list are now known ; in addition, one or two mints show a moneyer not mentioned ; thus the name of Roger does not appear under Bristol, though we have his coin. Walter's name is absent from the list for Lincoln and the name of Thomas does not occur in the York list. The two former no doubt took office in consequence of vacancies due to death or otherwise after the list was compiled. The case was different at York, as we have documentary proof of the choice of Thomas as the Archbishop's moneyer ; his name, therefore, would be outside the list of royal moneyers. In two cases, Lincoln and Wilton, there were two moneyers at each mint bearing the same Christian name, curiously enough in both cases again that of William. A most careful scrutiny of the coins of these Williams does not show any difference by which to separate them. There is no initial of a surname nor any different method of dividing the name or of ligating the letters. One can only wonder how in the case of a defaulting William at either of these two places the burden could be placed on the proper shoulders. It might at first sight be suggested that the coin shown in the Lincoln list with the round **W** indicated this difference, but unfortunately this idea cannot be sustained in view of the occurrence of the same letter in the list for Northampton, where there were no two moneyers of the same name.

In examining the lists it will be noticed that some of the provincial mints did not issue coins of Class II, those reading **REX TERCI**. These mints evidently did not start work quite so soon as those in which Class II are found. As regards these, Mr. Baldwin informs me that he has coins of Class II by all four moneyers at all the mints issuing the class. If, therefore, the list, say, of Norwich be examined, it must not be supposed that **ION** was the only issuer in Class II, but that particulars of the missing moneyers were not available to correctly add their coins to the list. The general table gives the names of all of these and must be referred to for further information. The country mints were only open for a short time, as is shown by the absence of coins later than Class IIIc. It is true Mr. Baldwin has some coins bearing a sceptre and with names of

provincial mints, but none of those I have seen appears to have been made with the same irons as those used for the production of sceptred coins at the chief mints. Mr. Baldwin's list of the Brussels find has not yet appeared, and so the matter must rest.

My thanks are due to Mr. G. C. Brooke for many readings taken from coins in the British Museum, marked M.B. ; to Mr. Baldwin, for particulars of coins marked B. ; and to Mr. Wells, who supplied me with readings, chiefly of the Northampton mint. His initials now appear to these readings. The remainder of the list is taken from my own coins and therefore completeness cannot be claimed. The list only contains readings of coins which convey more or less sense. There are, however, a very large number in which the legends are completely unintelligible. I have not thought it advisable to cumber these notes with what, after all, may be nothing better than forgeries. Many of them are evidently continental and would be out of place here, and of the remainder the less said the better.

It had been hoped that in concluding the story of the long-cross coinage an appendix from the pen of Mr. Earle Fox, giving documentary evidence, would have been added. Unfortunately for him, and for us, his health has precluded him from being able to add this most valuable evidence now ; we hope, however, that he will soon be able to resume his labours, and that the appendix so much wanted here will be forthcoming in a future volume of this *Journal*.

# THE PROVINCIAL MINTS.

## LIST OF THE OFFICIALS OF THE MINTS FROM THE RECORD AND OF THE COINS.

### BRISTOL.

#### *Bristoue.*

#### Monetarii—

Jacobus Laware.  
Henricus Langbord.  
Walterus de Paris.  
Elyas de Aby.

#### Custodes—

Jacobus le Clerk.  
Robertus de Kilmain.  
Henricus Adrian.  
Willelmus Senare.

BRISTOL—*contd.*

## Assaiatores—

Petrus Aurifaber.  
Walterus Aurifaber.

## Clericus—

Willelmus de Bruges.

The moneyer Roger is not mentioned in the official list.

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ELI/SOI/BR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IDO/OIB/RVS/TOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IAQ/OIO/NBR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IAQ/OIO/NBR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/OIO/NBR/VST</b>

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ELI/SOI/BR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ELI/SOI/BR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HEN/RIO/NBR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IAQ/OIO/NBR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/OIO/NBR/VST</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WAL/TOR/OIB/RVS</b>

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ELI/SOI/BR/VST</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IAQ/OIO/NBR/VST</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/OIO/NBR/VST</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WAL/TOR/OIB/RVS</b>	B.

## CARLISLE.

*Karlec.*

## Monetarii—

Johannes de Boltone.  
Robertus de Chilay.  
Willelmus de Thiparun.  
Adam Caperun.

## Custodes—

Thomas Specarius.  
Willelmus filius Ivonis.  
Alexander le Clerk.  
Henricus le Taliure.

## Assaiatores—

Willelmus Aurifaber.  
Adam Garald.

## Clericus—

Willelmus filius Ivonis.

CARLISLE—*contd.*

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ADAMONDAHL</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROBERTONDAHL</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WILHELMONDAHL</b>

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ADAMONDAHL</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IONONDAHL</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IONONDAHL</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROBERTONDAHL</b>	note D
	instead of T.	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROBERTONDAHL</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WILHELMONDAHL</b>	

EXETER.

*Exonia.*

Monetarii—

Robertus Picon.  
Phillipus Tincto.  
Johannes de Egestone.  
Walterus Okestone.

Custodes—

Walterus de Moletone.  
Michael Pollard.  
Robertus Cissor.  
David de Medueye.

Assaiatores—

Johannes Hamelin.  
Ricardus Bulloc.

Clericus—

Godefridus de Sowye.

*Class II.*

<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	<b>IONONEADETRE</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	<b>PHILIPONEADE</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>PHILIPONEADE</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	<b>ROBERTONEADE</b>	

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>IONONEADETRE</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>PHILIPONEADE</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>PHILIPONEADE</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>	<b>ROBERTONEADE</b>	



EXETER—*contd.**Class IIIb.*

HENRICVS REX III	ION/ON/DC/TR	
HENRICVS REX III.	ION/ON/DC/TR	
HENRICVS REX-III'	ION/ON/DC/TR	
HENRICVS REX III	ION/ON/DC/TR	M.B.
HENRICVS REX-III'	PHI/LIP/ON/DC	
HENRICVS REX III.	ROB/RT/ON/DC	
HENRICVS REX-III'	WAL/TB/ON/DC	
HENRICVS REX-III'	WAL/TB/ON/DC	

*Class IIIc.*

HENRICVS REX-III'	ION/ON/DC/TR	
HENRICVS REX-III no extra pellets between the curls.	PHI/LIP/ON/DC	
HENRICVS REX-III	ROB/RT/ON/DC	B.

## GLOUCESTER.

*Gloucestria.*

## Monetarii—

Johannes filius Simonis.  
Ricardus le Francois.  
Rogerius Emc̃pse.  
Lucas Cornubiae.

## Custodes—

Johannes Marescallus.  
Alexander le Bret.  
Ricardus de Celař.  
Johannes de Esdrefelde.

## Assaiatores—

Willelmus le Eiche.  
Nicolaus de Theokebiř.

## Clericus—

Henricus de Gloucestria.

*Class II.*

HENRICVS REX TARDI	ION/ON/GLO/DC
HENRICVS REX TARDI	LVD/ASO/HG/LOV
HENRICVS REX TARDI	RIC/ARD/ONG/LOV
HENRICVS R...ARDI'	ROG/RO/HG/LOV

GLOUCESTER—*contd.*

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>	<b>ION/ON/GLO/VCE</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/ON/GLO/VCE</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>LVA/ASO/NG/LOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>LVA/ASO/NGL/OVC</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>	<b>LVA/ASD/NG/LOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/OG/LOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/OG/LOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III</b>	<b>ROG/RO/NG/LOV</b>

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/ON/GLO/VCE</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>LVA/ASO/NG/LOV</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/OG/LOV</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/RO/NG/LOV</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>ROG/RO/NG/LOV</b>	

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/ON/GLO/VCE</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>LVA/ASO/NG/LOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/OG/LOV</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/RO/NG/LOV</b>

HEREFORD.

*Herefordia.*

Monetarii—

Ricardus Mamworthe.  
Walterus Siward.  
Rogerius le Mercer.  
Henricus Hathefet.

Custodes—

Gilbertus Seim.  
Henricus Turg.  
Johannes Foliot.  
Nicholaus de la Punde.

Assaiatores—

Ricardus Senior.  
Ricardus Junior.

Clericus—

Ingaunus de Sancto Mare.

HEREFORD—*contd.**Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HEN/RIO/HÆ/REF</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HEN/RIO/.HÆ/REH</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/ON/ÆR</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III</b>	<b>ROG/ÆRO/HÆ/REF</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WÆ/TÆR/ON/ÆR</b>

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HEN/RIO/HÆ/REF</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/ON/ÆR</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/ON/ÆR</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/ÆRO/HÆ/REF</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WÆ/TÆR/ON/ÆR</b>

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RIC/RD/ON/ÆR</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/ÆRO/HÆ/REF</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WÆ/TÆR/ON/ÆR</b>	B.

## ILCHESTER.

*Ivecester.*

## Monetarii—

Gervasius Gris.  
Hugo le Rus.  
Stephanus le Rus.  
Radulfus Fardein.

## Custodes—

Robertus Fromund.  
Henricus Cam?  
Rocelin Barhud.  
Walterus Witbred

## Assaiatores—

Rogerius le Norais.  
Thurþ Aurifaber.

## Clericus—

Walterus Loue.

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IER/VÆI/SON/IVÆ</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RÆ/DVL/FOI/IVÆ</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>STE/PÆE/OI/VÆL</b>

ILCHESTER—*contd.*

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IER/VBI/SOI/IVB</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HVG/BOI/IVB/LDB</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>STB/PHE/.../VEL</b>

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IER/VBI/SOI/IVB</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RHI/DVL/FOI/IVB</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>STB/PHE/OI/VEL</b>	B.

LINCOLN.

*Lincolnia.*

Monetarii—

Willelmus de Paris.  
Ricardus de Ponte.  
Willelmus Brand.  
Johannes de Luda.

Custodes—

Alanus de Gaytone.  
Johannes Berne.  
Johannes filius Marenni.  
Henricus Cocus.

Assaiatores—

Thomas de Bellofage.  
Johannes Aurifaber.

Clericus—

Hugo filius Johannis.

The moneyer Walter is not mentioned in the official list.

*Class II.*

<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>ION/ONL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>ION/ONL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>RIC/RID/ONL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>RIC/RID/ONL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>WAL/TAR/ONL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>WAL/TAR/ONL/IND</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>WIL/LEM/ONL/IND</b>	

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/ONL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RIC/RID/ONL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>WAL/TAR/ONL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WIL/EM/ONL/LIN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WIL/LEM/ONL/IND</b>	B.

LINCOLN—*contd.*

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IOI/OIL/IND/OLN</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>	<b>ION/OHL/IND/OLN</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III</b>	<b>RIC/RID/OIL/IND</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>WAL/TÆ/OIL/IND</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WAL/TÆ/OIL/IND</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>	<b>WIL/LÆM/OHL/IND</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>WIL/LÆM/OIL/IND</b>

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>IOI/OHL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>RIC/RID/OHL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WAL/TÆ/OHL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WAL/TÆ/OHL/IND</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WIL/LÆM/OHL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WIL/LÆM/OIL/IND</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>WIL/LÆM/OIL/IND</b>	B.

NEWCASTLE.

*Novum Castrum.*

Monetarii—

Rogerus filius Willelmi.  
Johannes de Papede.  
Henricus de Karlel.  
Adam de Blakedone.

Custodes—

Thomas de Marlberge.  
Thomas Torand.  
Johannes Withelarde.  
Rogerius Russelle.

Assaiatores—

Ricardus de Westmele.  
Willelmus Aurifaber.

Clericus—

Adam Clericus.

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>	<b>ADAM/OIL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HEN/RIO/HND/WÆ</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HEN/RIO/HND/WÆ</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/OHL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>ION/OHL/IND/OLN</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/RID/OIL/IND</b>	B.

NEWCASTLE—*contd.*

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>AD/MOI/NEV/EDA</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>	<b>HE/RIO/NE/WED</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/OM/EW/DA</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/OM/EW/DA</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/RO/NE/WED</b>

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>AD/MOI/NEV/EDA</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>HE/RIO/NE/WED</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ION/OM/EW/DA</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	<b>ROG/RO/NE/WED</b>

B.

NORTHAMPTON.

"*Norwicum*" error for *Norhamton*.

Monetarii—

Willelmus de Gangy.  
Thomas Rinne.  
Philippus filius Roberti.  
Lucas Parmentarius.

Custodes—

Philipus filius Roberti.  
Adam de Stanforde.  
Willelmus filius Johannis.  
Gaufridus Espiter.

Assaiatores—

Robertus de Arderne.  
Robertus filius Nicholai.

Clericus—

Hugo filius Johannis.

There seems to have been some confusion of the names Northampton and Norwich, as the latter is given twice in the list of officers of the mints and the former omitted altogether. The names on the coins, however, show that Northampton is intended in the above list.

*Class II.*

<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>LVA/ASO/NN/ON</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	<b>LVA/ASO/NNO/RHA</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>PHI/LIP/ONN/ON</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	<b>PHI/LIP/ONN/ON</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b> obverse	<b>PHI/LIP/ONN/ORH'</b>	W.C.W.

die used by both William and Thomas.

NORTHAMPTON—*contd.**Class II—contd.*

<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/OM/. . h</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	obverse die	<b>TOM/ASO/HH/Ozh</b>	W.C.W.
used by Willem.			
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh'</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI</b>	obverse die	<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh</b>	
used by Tomas.			
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh</b>	B.

*Class IIIa.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>LVA/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>LVA/ASO/HH/Ozh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>PHI/LIP/OMH/ORh'</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>PHI/LIP/OMH/ORh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>PHI/LIP/OMH/Ozh</b>	W.C.W.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>PHI/LIP/OMH/ORh</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HH/Ozh'</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HH/Ozh</b>	W.C.W.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Oz.</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh'</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh'</b>	

*Class IIIb.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>LVA/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>LVA/ASO/HH/Ozh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>		<b>PHI/LIP/OMH/ORh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III</b>		<b>TOM/ASO/HH/Ozh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>TOM/AS:OMH/Ozh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh'</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX III'</b>		<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh'</b>	

*Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	no extra pellets.	<b>LVA/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	no extra pellets.	<b>PHI/LIP/OMH/ORh'</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	no extra pellets.	<b>TOM/ASO/HNO/RhA</b>	B.
<b>HENRICVS REX·III'</b>	no extra pellets.	<b>WIL/LAM/OMH/Ozh'</b>	

NORWICH.

*Norwicum.*

Monetarii—

Hugo le Brunham.  
Jacobus Cocus.  
Willelmus de Hapesburge.  
Johannes Martun.

Custodes—

Gilbertus de Ley.  
Johannes Bartolomeus.  
Willelmus de Chalvern.  
Robertus Wenge.

Assaiatores—

Martinus Averde.  
Henricus Aurifaber.

Clericus—

Robertus le Tanur.

*Class II.*

**HENRICVS REX TERCIVS**

**ION/ONH/NOZ/WID**

*Class IIIa.*

**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX III'**  
**HENRICVS REX III**

**HVG/BOI/NOZ/WIZ**  
**HVG/BOH/NOZ/WIZ**  
**IAQ/OBO/HNO/RWI**  
**IAQ/OBO/HH/OZW**  
**IAQ/OBO/HH/OZW**  
**ION/ON/NOZ/WIZ**  
**ION/ON/OZT/WIS**  
**ION/ON/NOZ/WID**  
**WIL/LAM/ON/OZW**

B.  
M.B.

*Class IIIb.*

**HENRICVS REX III'.**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'.**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'.**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX III'.**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**

**HVG/BOI/NOZ/WIZ**  
**IAQ/OBO/HNO/RWI**  
**IAQ/OBO/HNO/RWI'**  
**IAQ/OBO/HH/OZW'**  
**ION/ON/OZT/WIS**  
**ION/ON/NOZ/WIZ**  
**WIL/LAM/ON/OZW**  
**WIL/LAM/ON/OZW**

*Class IIIc.*

**HENRICVS REX·III'** no extra pellets.  
**HENRICVS REX·III'** pellets?  
**HENRICVS REX·III'** no extra pellets.

**HVG/BOI/NOZ/WIZ**  
**ION/OI/NOZ/WIS**  
**WIL/LAM/ON/OZW**

B.

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OXFORD.

*Oxonia.*

Monetarii—

Henricus Simeone.  
Gaufridus de Scocwille.  
Adam Feteplace.  
Willelmus Sarsorius.

Custodes—

Laurentius Whit.  
Thomas sub Muro.  
Walterus Aurifaber.  
Johannes Alegod.

Assaiatores—

Radulphus Aurifaber.  
Johannes le Fleming.

Clericus—

Simon filius Rogeri.

*Class II.*

HENRICVS REX TERC  
HENRICVS REX TERC  
HENRICVS REX TERC  
HENRICVS REX TERC  
HENRICVS REX TERC

ADA/MON/OXO/NFO  
GEF/REI/ONO/XON  
HEN/RIO/NOX/ONE  
HEN/RIO/NO/XOI  
WIL/LEM/ONO/XON

M.B.

*Class IIIa.*

HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX III'

ADA/MON/OXO/NFO  
GEF/REI/ONO/XOI  
GEF/REI/ONO/XON  
HEN/RIO/N : O/XOI  
HEN/RIO/NO/XOI  
WIL/LEM/ONO/XOI

B.

*Class IIIb.*

HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'

ADA/MON/OXO/NFO  
ADA/MON/OXO/NE  
GEF/REI/OIO/XOI  
GEF/REI/OIO/XOI  
HEN/RIO/NO/XOI  
WIL/LEM/OIO/XOI  
WIL/LEM/OIO/XOI

*Class IIIc.*

HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'

pellets?

ADA/MON/OXO/NFO  
GEF/REI/OIO/XOI  
HEN/RIO/NO/XOI  
WIL/LEM/OIO/XOI

B.  
W.C.W.

SHREWSBURY.

*Salopesbiria.*

Monetarii—

Ricardus Pride.  
Nicholaus filius Ivonis.  
Laurentius Cox, loco  
Hugonis Champeneis.  
Petrus filius Clementis.

Custodes—

Robertus filius Johannis.  
Lucas filius Walteri.  
Johannes filius Rogeri le  
Parmentarius.  
Hugo le Vilain.

Assaiatores—

Thomas Aurifaber.  
Willelmus filius Hugonis.

Clericus—

Nicholaus filius Nicholai de  
Scawerburi.

*Class IIIa.*

**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**

**HIC/OLE/ONS/ROS**  
**PER/ISO/NSR/OSB**  
**PER/ISOI/SRO/SBB**  
**PER/ISO/NS/RO**

*Class IIIb.*

**HENRICVS·REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**

**LOR/ENZ/ONS/ROS**  
**LOR/EN'/ONS/ROS**  
**HIC/OLE/ONS/ROS**  
**PER/ISOI/SRO/SBB**  
**RIC/RID/ONS/ROS**

*Class IIIc.*

**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**  
**HENRICVS REX·III'**

**LOR/ENZ/ONS/ROS** B.  
**HIC/OLE/ONS/ROS** B.  
**PER/ISOI/SRO/SBB**  
**RIC/RID/ONS/ROS** B.

WALLINGFORD.

*Wallingforde.*

Monetarii—

Clemens Clericus.  
Ricardus Blaune.  
Alexander de Stanes.  
Robertus Pecok

Custodes—

Johannes Robechild.  
Simon Canon.  
Johannes Hentelowe.  
Gaufridus de Wicke.

WALLINGFORD—*contd.*

Assaiatores—

Johannes Aurifaber.  
Randulfus Aurifaber.

Clericus—

Nicholaus des Estenȝ.

*Class IIIa.*

HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III

ALI/STH/DRE/OW  
RIC/ARD/OW/ALI  
ROB/ERT/OW/ALI

*Class IIIb.*

HENRICVS REX·III  
HENRICVS REX·III  
HENRICVS REX·III

ALI/STH/DRE/OW  
CLE/MEN/TO/WAL  
ROB/ERT/OW/ALI

WILTON.

*Wiltonia.*

Monetarii—

Willelmus filius Radulfi.  
Willelmus Manger.  
Johannes Berte.  
Hugo Goldrun.

Custodes—

Robertus filius Johannis.  
Adam Atte.  
Ead Herinč.  
Rocelinus de Gube

Assaiatores—

Johannes Acer.  
Mathæus Bolegambe.

Clericus—

Willelmus de Biscopestede.

*Class IIIb.*

HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'

HVG/EO/WIL/TOI  
HVG/EO/WIL/TOI  
ION/OW/ILT/OIE  
IOI/OW/ILT/OIE  
WIL/LAM/ON/WIL  
WIL/LAM/OW/ILT

*Class IIIc.*

HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'  
HENRICVS REX·III'

HVG/EO/WIL/TOI  
IOI/OW/ILT/OIE  
ION/OW/ILT/OIE  
WIL/LAM/OW/ILT

WINCHESTER.

*Wintonia.*

Monetarii—

Nicholaus Cupping.  
Hugo Silvester.  
Willelmus Prior.  
Jordanus Drapparius.

Custodes—

Walterus Coleman.  
Robertus de la Dene.  
Walterus Ruffus.  
Johannes Aurifaber.

Assaiatores—

Robertus Aurifaber.  
Petrus de Wormhol.

Clericus—

Robertus Poterel.

*Class II.*

HENRICVS REX TERCIVS  
HENRICVS REX TERCIVS  
HENRICVS REX TERCIVS  
HENRICVS REX TERCIVS  
HENRICVS REX TERCIVS  
HENRICVS REX TERCIVS  
HENRICVS REX TERCIVS

HVG/EOH/WIN/CHB  
HVG/EOH/WIN/CHB M.B.  
IOR/DAN/ONW/IND  
NID/OLE/ONW/IND  
NID/OLE/ONW/IND M.B.  
WIL/LAM/ONW/IND  
WIL/LAM/ONW/IND M.B.

*Class IIIa.*

HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III

HVG/EOH/WIN/CHB B.  
IVR/DAN/ONW/IND  
IVR/DAN/ONW/IND  
NID/OLE/ONW/IND  
NID/OLE/ONW/IND  
WIL/.../ONW/IND the letters  
in the second quarter look like  
CHB.

*Class IIIb.*

HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III  
HENRICVS REX III

HVG/EOH/WIN/CHB  
HVG/EOH/WIN/CHB  
IVR/DAN/ONW/IND  
NID/OLE/ONW/IND  
NID/OLE/ONW/IND  
WIL/LAM/ONW/IND

WINCHESTER—*contd.**Class IIIc.*

<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>HVG/BOI/WIN/DHB</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>HVG/BOI/WIN/DHB</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>IVR/DH/ON/WIN</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>IVR/DH/OW/IND</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>NID/OLE/OW/IND</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>NID/OLE/ON/WIN</b>
<b>HENRICVS REX:III'</b>	<b>WIL/LAM/OW/IND</b>

## YORK.

*Eboracum.*

## Monetarii—

Johannes de Seleby.  
 Alanus filius Sansonis.  
 Raynerius Taliator.  
 Geremias de Bedegate.

## Custodes—

Robertus filius Thomae  
 Verdenel.  
 Thomas Yoel.  
 Robertus filius Thomae  
 Alby.  
 Willelmus de Akaun.

## Assaiatores—

Henricus Spari.  
 Ricardus Grusey.

## Clerici—

Andreas de Sebeby.  
 Petrus de Gamoc, ex parte  
 regis.

Thomas, who was the archbishop's moneyer, is not in the official list.

*Class II.*

<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>ALA/INO/HAV/BRW</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>ALA/INO/HAV/BRW</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>IAR/MIE/ONE/VAR</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>IAR/MIE/ONE/VAR</b>	M.B.
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>ION/ONE/VAR/WID</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>ION/ONE/VAR/WID</b>	
<b>HENRICVS REX TARDI'</b>	<b>REN/ARO/HAV/BRW</b>	

YORK—*contd.*

*Class IIIa.*

HENRICVS REX·III	ALA/INO/NEV/ERW	
HENRICVS REX III	ALA/INO/NEV/ERW	
HENRICVS REX III'	IERE/MIE/ONE/VER	
HENRICVS REX III'	IERE/MIE/ONE/VER	B.
HENRICVS REX·III	ION/ONE/VER/WID	
HENRICVS REX·III'	REY/ERO/NEV/ERW	

*Class IIIb.*

HENRICVS REX·III'	ALA/INO/NE/VER	
HENRICVS REX·III'	ALA/INO/NEV/ERW	
HENRICV REX·III	ALA/EIN/OE/VER	double struck but lettering correct.
HENRICVS REX III'	IER/EM/IO/NEV	
HENRICVS REX·III'	IERE/MIE/ONE/VER	
HENRICVS REX·III'	ION/ONE/VER/WID	
HENRICVS REX·III	ION/ONE/VER/WID	B.
HENRICVS REX·III'	REY/ERO/NE/VER	
HENRICVS REX·III'	REY/ERO/NEV/ERW	
HENRICVS REX·III'	TOM/ASO/NE/VER	
HENRICVS REX·III	TOM/ASO/NEV/ERW	

*Class IIIc.*

HENRICVS REX·III'	IERE/MIE/ONE/VER	B.
HENRICVS REX·III'	ION/ONE/VER/WID	
HENRICVS REX·III'	REY/ERO/NE/VER	
HENRICVS REX·III'	TOM/ASO/NE/VER	B.



NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF  
EDWARD I., II., AND III.

BY H. B. EARLE FOX AND J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX.


OWING to the ill-health of Mr. Fox and the absence from London of Mr. Shirley-Fox the continuation of this paper must stand in abeyance. Our readers will wish Mr. Fox a speedy recovery.—EDITOR.





## THE ENGLISH COINAGES OF EDWARD VI.

BY HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.

 DWARD VI. acceded to the throne on January 28th, 1546-7, being then nine years of age, and it is an interesting question how far, if at all, he was responsible for the currency measures which were adopted during the earlier years of his reign. In 1551, however, we shall find him taking an active part in arranging the details of the new proposals then made. Before proceeding to describe the written evidence, a short introductory statement may be useful in order to show the circumstances under which the striking of money was carried on between 1546 and 1553.

The mints which existed at the death of Henry VIII. continued to work, namely, the Tower, with three distinct organizations, Southwark, Canterbury, York, and Bristol. To these must be added Durham House, in the Strand, which mint was first set up during the month of December, 1548, as I have proved in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xiv, p. 138. The constitution of the respective mints, as settled by Henry VIII. in 1544, remained unchanged, the under-treasurer being the chief responsible official in each establishment.

Perhaps the main difference, from the historical point of view, between the coinages of Edward VI. and those of his father, lies in the fact that when Henry VIII. debased his currency he did it by regular stages and never once looked back, so that it is comparatively easy to trace the sequence of events. Edward, on the other hand, continued to issue base money, but made spasmodic efforts from time to time to retrace his steps in the direction of higher standards, with the result that the mints were not infrequently striking coins of the same denomination and face value, but of different intrinsic values. In the first and second years, respectively, two groups of indentures embodying identical standards of fineness and weight were executed by the King and the

chief officers of all the mints, but the provisions of the agreements were afterwards qualified or varied by commissions directed to one or other of the under-treasurers. These subsequent orders created in effect new issues, which have to be distinguished from the coins struck according to the general standards laid down by the indentures. Thus, uniformity became impossible. In the latter part of Henry's reign, bad as the coinage then was, we know that in a given year the Tower mints and those in the provinces were regulated by identical orders as regards the quality and weight of the money, whereas under Edward the contrary obtained, and nearly every mint received instructions which differed in some respect from other contemporary documents. I think that the numismatic history of the six and a half years now under review may be fairly summarized by saying that it consisted for the most part of experiments tempered by vacillation. Although the object aimed at was most praiseworthy, the resulting confusion brought serious losses upon the community, and it became increasingly difficult to supervise the operations of the eight English mints. The trials of the pyx by an independent authority were explicitly abandoned, conceivably by reason of the numerous changes of standard which occurred in and after the King's second year. The effect of this lax and fluctuating policy upon the discipline of the mint officers was disastrous, if I read the signs aright. Practically all those who occupied high positions in the several establishments at the time of Edward's accession, with the honourable exception of George Gale and his two colleagues in the city of York, had been dismissed, or had retired more or less compulsorily, before the end of 1552. It would appear that nearly everyone was in arrear with his accounts, but there was a liberal distribution of pardons, and the defaulting officers, with the exception of Sir William Sharington, are not known to have suffered materially beyond the loss of their fees; indeed, some of them were afterwards appointed to other positions. Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, who had no direct control of the processes of coining, survived the storms and filled the same office under Mary and under Elizabeth.

The difficulty of reconciling the diverse orders, and of identifying

the coins which were their fruits, is much increased by the practice, now recognized on all hands, of using the portrait and titles of Henry VIII. for a portion of the money struck during the reign of his son. This custom was in vogue, as will presently be seen, so late as the month of February, 1549-50, and there is no reason for thinking that it was not subsequently continued. The position of affairs was rendered still more complex by the attempts to convert all the testons of Henry VIII. into pieces of smaller denominations. These "conversions" will not be treated in the following pages as distinct issues, but rather as supplementary work to the principal coinages.

Edward VI. and his advisers were singularly unfortunate with regard to the two earlier types of silver coins which were intended to pass for twelve pence. The documents to be cited later will show that the teston of Henry VIII., 120 grs., having been widely counterfeited, was annulled by a series of three proclamations, and then melted down. That coin was replaced by Edward's profile shilling, 80 grs., with a few exceptions of lighter weight, which was a further source of trouble, and was eventually reduced in face value by a second series of three proclamations. Hence it was not until the fine silver issue of 1551 that the country possessed a reliable coin of this denomination.

The cumulative effect of all these embarrassments, to which must be added a general scarcity of bullion, may be seen, I think, in the suppression of the greater number of the mints. One by one they were extinguished, and the beginning of the last year of the king's reign saw only two survivals, namely, a single organization at the Tower and the mint in the city of York.

#### THE FIRST COINAGE, 1547.

One of the earliest instructions to a mint officer after Edward's accession is an order dated March 16th, 1546-7, and mentioned in an account by Thomas Knight, then under-treasurer of one of the three establishments at the Tower. He was directed to continue the use of 20-c. fine gold and 4-oz. fine silver, as ordained by Henry VIII., and it seems a reasonable assumption that during the interval before the

date of Edward's first indenture this officer was still coining Henry's moneys without any change of type. At all events, Knight's first account extends unbroken until March 31st, 1547, on which day it closes. *Exchequer Account* 302/29.

The next incident in chronological order is a commission to Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, authorizing him, in consideration of his long approved fidelity, to buy bullion of gold and silver, coined or not coined, for the "better furniture" of the mints, to be "eftsones" converted into current moneys; that the prices so paid should not exceed 58s. for the oz. of fine gold, 24 c., and 5s. 4d. for the oz. of fine silver, 12 ozs.; and in order that Peckham might the better attend to the said charge he was granted 10s. the day "in the name of your diet" from March 2nd then last past, while the commission remained in force. Dated March 16th, 1546-7. *Patent Roll*, 1 Edward VI., Part 4, m. 24 *dors*.

We now reach a group of indentures which governed the first coinage. In not a single instance has an enrolment been made, and therefore it is the more fortunate that three of the original deeds have been preserved. These agreements were executed on April 5th, 1 Edward VI., 1547, and relate to the mints at the Tower, Southwark, and Canterbury respectively. Consequently two cities, York and Bristol, lack any direct record of instructions at this period.

1. The Tower indenture was with Sir Martin Bowes, Stephen Vaughan, and Thomas Knight, the three under-treasurers, and other officers, who covenanted with the King to make four moneys of gold—

The sovereign, "after the proclamation," running for 20s., of which 30 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half-sovereign, crown, and half-crown in like proportions of value and weight.

There shall be 20 c. of fine gold and 4 c. of alloy in each lb.

Troy, which shall contain £30 in coined moneys by tale.

And six moneys of silver, viz.,

The teston, running for 12d., of which 48 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The groat, half-groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing in like proportions of value and weight.

There shall be 4 ozs. of fine silver, and 8 ozs. of alloy in each lb. Troy, which shall contain 48s. in coined moneys by tale.

A privy mark to be made on all coins. There shall be placed in the pyx 10s. of every 40 lbs. of gold and 2s. of every 100 lbs. of silver moneys; the pyx shall be tried in the mint twice in each year. Standard trial pieces shall be made in triplicate. Two good touches and needles marked with a rose crowned shall be provided. The chief graver and the yeoman—that is, deputy—graver are mentioned, but not by name. Dated April 5th, 1 Edward VI., 1547. *Exchequer Account* 306/3.

The mints within the Tower were evidently still three in number, and the chief officers were those who had controlled the fifth and later coinages of Henry VIII.

Lowndes, in his *Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins*, 1695, pp. 23 and 44–5, says that Edward's first indenture was similar in terms to the latest order of Henry VIII., and although the latter document is now missing we may, I think, accept the writer's statement as being correct.

No sovereigns are known which can be attributed to the indenture of April 5th in the first year. Nevertheless, gold coins of the 20 c. standard were undoubtedly struck in Sir Martin Bowes's mint between May and September in that year to the extent of 3,573 lbs. weight Troy, *Exchequer Account* 302/27, and it is not improbable that these pieces included the "young portrait" half-sovereigns with the titles of the King's father, described by Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon on pp. 98–9 of his work.

The account last quoted shows that the coining of silver was also being carried on between April 1st and September 30th, 1547, when 11,613 lbs. Troy were struck. The text-books generally assume that Edward's profile groat, half-groat, and penny were products of the first coinage, but it seems doubtful whether a change of portrait was made at so early a period of the reign. Seeing that the indenture provides for the teston of 120 grs., which is unknown in the series of Edward's own coins, I think it is more likely that the first issue of silver was a reproduction of Henry's moneys. There is the further

point that the large quantity of 4-oz. silver coins made in 1547 is rather incompatible with the very small number of Edward's profile groats, etc., which have survived.

Another *Exchequer Account*, 303/5, beginning on October 1st, 1547, indicates that Martin Bowes continued to strike 20-c. gold and 4-oz. silver under the provisions of the first indenture. No accounts from Stephen Vaughan are known to exist, so I cannot throw any light upon the proceedings of this under-treasurer, beyond a mention of the fact that he paid various sums to Sir E. Peckham in respect of the King's profits.

Thomas Knight drew up an account which covers nine months from April 1st to December 31st, 1547, and proves that he coined at the Tower within that period 625 lbs. Troy of 20-c. gold and 8,086 lbs. Troy of 4-oz. silver. *Exchequer Account* 302/29.

There are one or two features in the indenture of April, 1547, which deserve a word of comment. The designation "yeoman graver" is quite new to me; presumably it is a synonym for "under-graver." The omission of the usual injunction to test the pyx moneys in the presence of the King's Council at the Star Chamber is a sign of the times. It will be noticed that the trials were to take place in the mint, where the examination would be conducted by the officials themselves, who had always been accustomed to make a preliminary assay before taking the boxes to Westminster.

2. The indenture with the officers at Southwark is now reached.

On April 5th, 1 Edward VI. [1547], John Yorke, esquire, under-treasurer at the manor of Suffolk House in Southwark, "next London," Robert Brocke, comptroller, and William Knight, general assayer, covenanted with the King to make four manner of moneys of gold of the same denominations, weight, and fineness as were ordained in the Tower agreement of parallel date which has been already cited. In each pound Troy of gold 30s. was to be taken up to the King's use. And six manner of moneys of silver, also identical in all essential respects with the Tower coins.<sup>1</sup> Fine silver might be bought at 5s.

<sup>1</sup> The mint-mark might of course be expected to differ.

the oz. There is, however, one clause which belongs exclusively to the Suffolk House document, namely, a proviso that the gravers of irons should not grave elsewhere, but only in one house within the said manor, assigned for that purpose by John Yorke. These words appear to indicate pretty clearly the novel fact that this mint was empowered, as was Bristol, to engage the services of a graver and to prepare its own dies, but at present I have been unable to trace the appointment of such an official at Southwark. On the seal of the document is a device, not heraldic, which includes the letters I. Y.

What coins were struck in pursuance of the agreement with John Yorke? The question cannot, I fear, be answered until we are in a position to say which of the marks as yet unassigned to any mint belong to Southwark. There are no accounts of the work done at Suffolk House, and I had to express a similar regret when dealing with the reign of Henry VIII. The written evidence of activity is confined to sundry payments of profits by the under-treasurer to his chief. *Pipe Office Account* 2077.

3. The last of the three original indentures relates to Canterbury, and was executed on the same day, April 5th, 1547.

William Tillesworth, goldsmith of London and under-treasurer of the King's mint in Canterbury, John Busshe, comptroller, and Lawrence Warrye, assaymaster, covenanted to make four moneys of silver, namely, the half-groat, penny, halfpenny, and farthing of the same weights and fineness as were prescribed for the mints at the Tower and Southwark. The general provisoes also correspond with those in the other contracts of even date, so far as they are applicable, with the addition of an injunction that the mint should be "kept in the place of old time accustomed" or elsewhere within the city of Canterbury, as the King might appoint. There is, moreover, no reference to a local graver.

Tillesworth's account proves that work was done in conformity with his indenture to the extent of 5,688 lbs. Troy of 4-oz. silver between April 1st and September 30th, 1547, the King's profit being 28s. on each pound. Here again it would seem that Henry's types were used, as the quantity of bullion struck into print was very considerable, and Edward's Canterbury coins are quite uncommon. *Exchequer*



*Account* 302/25. The groat with Edward's portrait and titles, which is assigned to the first issue, must have been struck at a later date, as this denomination was not included in the first contract with Tillesworth.

4. The mint in the city of York at this date stands apart from the other establishments in a somewhat material respect. No original indenture, nor any enrolment thereof, is to be found, and George Galé's account makes it sufficiently clear that the northern city did not receive any instructions in April, 1547. The under-treasurer was, however, striking silver coins of the 4-oz. standard during five months, May to September, in that year, presumably in accordance with his indenture of 37 Henry VIII. He coined 10,440 lbs. Troy, on which the King's gain was 26s. 8d. in each lb. *Exchequer Account* 296/18.

5. Bristol remains to be considered. The indenture with William Sharington was in all probability dated April 5th, 1547, but it has not survived in any form. Its terms may be assumed to have been identical with those of the Southwark contract in the same month, as both mints were authorized to issue 20-c. gold coins in addition to the silver currency. Sharington's account states that during the period April 1st to September 30th, 1547, he had struck in Bristol Castle 204 lbs. Troy of gold coins of the 20-c. standard, and 6,838 lbs. Troy of silver coins of the 4-oz. standard. In this case, also, we may believe that the under-treasurer continued to use Henry's dies with the customary W. S. mint-mark. Indeed, no Bristol gold coins of Edward's types are known to exist, and the silver pieces of those types are referable to a later date. *Exchequer Account* 302/30. A more detailed history of this mint in Tudor days can be found in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xi, p. 346.

In or about June, 1547, occurred the earliest of the many experiments devised for the improvement of the standards of fineness. An order was given to the Tower authorities to mix bullion of 23-c. fine gold and 10-oz. fine silver, respectively, but no money was wrought therefrom "by reason of the King's urgent affairs." The consequent waste in remelting the metals and converting them into lower standards cost the Exchequer £73. About the same time Martin Bowes had

been careless in the supervision of the operations at his mint in the Tower, and he was surcharged with £2,372, because his account was less favourable than that of Thomas Knight, and because the actual loss by waste was not so high as Bowes had stated it to be. *Exchequer Account* 302/27.

# THE SECOND COINAGE, 1547-8.

Ten months after the first issue of Edward's coins, if such they were, another group of mint indentures was sealed on February 16th, 2 Edward VI., 1547-8. The original deeds for Southwark, Canterbury, and York are still in existence, but those for the Tower and Bristol are missing. As the contents of the two latter documents were not enrolled, I am obliged to rely upon sparse recitals in the titles of *Exchequer Accounts* for evidence that the agreements were duly executed and became operative. The changes effected by the new contracts with the mint officers mainly relate to the denominations; the standards of fineness in both metals and the weights of the coins remaining unaltered. We shall see that these new contracts in the form of indentures were often followed by supplementary commissions directing the conversion of testons into other denominations. The mint accounts generally distinguish between the two classes of operations by describing the indenture coins as "standard moneys." Sometimes the striking of the latter was held up for months by reason of the influx of testons.

1. With regard to the Tower, I learn from the *Pipe Office Account* 2078 that an indenture was made between the King and Sir Martin Bowes and Stephen Vaughan, on February 16th, 1547-8, whereby the officers agreed to strike gold of 20 c. fine and silver of 4 ozs. fine. If I may draw an analogy from the first coinage I would suggest that this Tower contract tallied with that for Southwark, which has survived and will presently be cited. I also infer from the absence of the name of Thomas Knight, the third under-treasurer in the indenture of April 5th, 1547, that the Tower was thenceforth to be worked as two mints only. It is not possible to state the quantities of

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gold and silver attributable to the second indenture, as the accounts run on without any break through the first and second years.

I can, however, supply the amounts coined by Martin Bowes, from bullion of both metals between October 1st, 1547, and September 30th, 1548, namely, of 20-c. gold, 3,826 lbs. Troy, and of 4-oz. silver, 36,402 lbs. Troy. Between October 1st, 1548, and December 31st then next he struck 5,844 lbs. Troy of 4-oz. silver; but after the latter date he coined no more "standard monies" of 4-oz. silver until June 30th, 1550, when his account ended [303/5]. It seems desirable, even if wearisome, to cite the quantities struck in the various mints, as *Ruding* omits this reign from the table of such statistics.

In addition to the Tower indenture regulating the general coinage, there was a commission of even date, February 16th, 1547-8, directed to Sir E. Peckham, Sir M. Bowes, and S. Vaughan, requiring them to melt down and convert testons into the standard of 4-oz. fine silver. This commission, mentioned in *Pipe Office Account* 2078 and in the Durham House commission, appears to be the earliest official reference to the trouble which was then gathering in respect of the testons of Henry VIII. Martin Bowes converted in his mint 14,600 lbs. Troy of these pieces into 4-oz. moneys during three months in 1548-9. They were valued at 48s. the pound [303/5].

2. Then as to the missing Bristol agreement. The evidence here is derived from *Exchequer Account* 303/6, which records that Sir Thomas Chamberlain had struck groats, half-groats, pence and halfpence agreeably to the terms of an indenture with Sir William Sharrington, of February 16th, 1547-8, thus proving that Bristol was brought into line with the other mints at that date. The circumstances under which Chamberlain succeeded Sharrington as under-treasurer were set out by me in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xi, p. 346. There is a doubt as to whether the Bristol indenture of 1547-8 provided for the striking of gold coins. The first agreement of 1547 certainly did so, and probably the second was on all fours with it, but if a gold coinage was ordered, Chamberlain did not act upon the instructions, as his accounts tell us that silver alone was wrought during his period of office. If the mint-mark T.C. in monogram form, on

Bristol silver coins of Henry VIII., is correctly attributed to Thomas Chamberlain, and I feel no hesitation on the point, it affords conclusive proof that they were struck in the time of Edward VI., as Chamberlain was not associated with this mint until January, 1548-9.

3. I will next consider the indenture for Southwark, one of three original writings of February 16th, 1547-8, which are preserved in the Public Record Office. This agreement was with John Yorke, Thomas Fletewood, in substitution for "Parson" Brocke of the first indenture, and William Knight, who undertook to strike gold coins of precisely the same denominations, weights and fineness as were ordered in the previously quoted indenture of April, 1547. Only 20s. was to be taken up for the King's use in each pound Troy of gold. The officers also undertook to make silver coins of the same weights and fineness as before, but of four denominations only, namely, the groat to the half-penny inclusive, the teston and the farthing being now omitted. In each pound Troy of silver 26s. 8d. might be taken up for the King, and fine, that is, pure, silver might be bought at 5s. 4d. the ounce, an increase of 4d. And they might, with the consent of the high treasurer, take gravers to aid the chief and the yeoman gravers. [This confirms the earlier permission to Suffolk House to make its own dies.]

4. The mint officers at Canterbury who were parties to the second indenture of February 16th, 1547-8, were those who had superintended the first issue of coins. They bound themselves to strike silver coins of the previous weights and fineness, but the denominations were varied by the addition of the groat and the omission of the farthing. The general terms follow those of the Southwark deed of even date, except that a graver is no sanctioned.

Between February, 1547-8, and October 1st, 1548, 26,613 lbs. Troy of silver of the 4-oz. standard were coined, on which the King's gain was 26s. 8d. in each pound. The mint at Canterbury obtained a further portion of its bullion from the spoils of the cathedral church, as is revealed by an entry in the Acts of the Privy Council, on January 29th, 1547, under which the Treasurer was to receive of the Chapter of Christ Church all such jewels and plate of gold and silver as they were

permitted by the late King to retain for their own use, and to deliver the same to the officers of the mint there.

By a commission signed on the same day as the second indenture, Tillesworth was authorized to melt down and convert testons into other coins of the 4-oz. standard of silver. This was done at Canterbury to the extent of 16,764 lbs. Troy, valued at 48s. the pound. *Exchequer Account* 302/25.

5. The Indenture for York was sealed by George Gale, alderman of that city and under-treasurer of the King's mint, John Wynde, comptroller, and Richard Lee, assaymaster, on February 16th, 1547-8. They covenanted to make four coins of silver, viz., the groat to the halfpenny inclusive, of a quality and weight which harmonized with the other orders of the same date. The mint was to be kept in the place of old time accustomed, and there is no mention of a graver.

On the day upon which this indenture was executed, a commission was issued to Sir E. Peckham and G. Gale, directing them to convert testons into smaller silver moneys of the 4-oz. standard. This order is known only by means of *Exchequer Account* 296/18, which also includes a note that Gale converted, at York, 37,576 lbs. Troy of the large pieces, valued at 48s. the pound, during the second and third years of the reign. No shillings of any standard were struck in this city.

The working expenses of the earlier years of the account had been too heavy, but as the under-treasurer had used greater diligence during the later years, the commissioners thought it reasonable to surcharge him with 200 marks only.

Another account from York, 302/28, shows that a payment of £23 16s. to Robert Pitt, graver at the Tower, was disallowed because the fee in his Letters Patent covered all such duties. He had supplied 68 dozen of coining irons to York.

Next in chronological sequence is the first of the proclamations dealing with the constantly recurring subject of the ill-starred teston. On April 10th, 1548, the Government announced that fraud and corruption had led to the falsifying of coins then current, especially pieces of 12d., commonly named testons on account of their greatness, by stamping or casting them in great multitude. To prevent this

practice it was ordered that the said coins should not be current after December 31st then next, but should be taken only as bullion. Nevertheless, when they were of the just standard they might be taken to any of the mints, where the just value in groats or other current coins would be given in exchange. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

On August 1st, 1548, Sir John Godsalue was appointed by Letters Patent to be comptroller of the Tower mints.

On November 17th, 1548, Lord St. John, President of the Council, and Sir E. Peckham were empowered to give due allowances and discharges to seven under-treasurers for bullion brought into the mints, after the rates following: for gold of 24-c. fine, £3 the oz. Troy and for less fine gold in like proportions, and for silver of 12-oz. fine, £3 8s. the lb. Troy, that is, 5s. 8d. for each ounce. And such prices were not to be exceeded in England or elsewhere. *Patent Roll*, 2 Edward VI., Part 3, m. 26 dors.

The mint at Durham House, in the Strand, was first set up on December 2nd, 1548, as will be made clear by a document to be subsequently quoted in the section dealing with the third coinage, but neither the indenture itself nor any enrolment is now forthcoming.

The pages of *Ruding* give us very few details as to the earlier coinages of Edward VI. We are briefly told, on the authority of *Lowndes*, p. 45, that the instructions of the second year were in accordance with those put forth at the beginning of the reign. This statement, however, does not accurately represent the position, as there were some not unimportant differences between the two sets of indentures.

It will be noticed that none of the foregoing records encourages the suggestion that Edward's sovereigns of abnormal weights were intended for circulation as pieces of treble or double value. I think that they were *piedforts*, and not current coins.

#### THE THIRD COINAGE, 1548-9.

We now reach the period when the mints no longer received instructions which for the most part were of a uniform character and common to them all, as in the case of the first and second issues. In

order to classify these deviations it will be preferable to enlarge the basis of arrangement usually adopted by the text-books, that is, four issues of gold and three of silver. I shall propose six coinages of each metal.

The first of the several attempts partially to restore the currency to the standards of pre-Tudor days was communicated to the people by a proclamation dated January 24th, 1548-9, stating that the pieces of 12*d.* called testons had been recently withdrawn, and that the King, to the intent that money might be more plentiful and richly made, had caused certain new coins to be struck, namely, the 20*s.*, 10*s.*, or "Edward royal," 5*s.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* in gold, and shillings and half-shillings in silver. And it was ordered that all groats and smaller pieces, not being clipped or full broken, should be received without refusal. *Harley MSS.*, 38.

It would appear from the accounts and other documents that this proclamation gave rise to new instructions at four of the mints, namely, Sir Martin Bowes's portion of the Tower, Durham House, Bristol, and Canterbury.

1. The order to Martin Bowes has not survived, but he mentions in his account that a commission was directed to Sir E. Peckham and himself on January 24th, 1548-9, authorizing them to strike into print gold of 22 c. fine and silver of 8 ozs. fine. Metals of both the named standards were undoubtedly used in his mint. In various months between the date of this commission and June 30th, 1550, an aggregate of 1,287 lbs. Troy of 22-c. gold was coined, and in February, 1548-9, 1,949 lbs. Troy of 8-oz. silver, valued at 96*s.* the pound, were coined. This standard of silver was derived solely from testons and was not used by Martin Bowes in any other month. *Pipe Office Account* 2078 or *Exchequer Account* 303/5. As to the denominations then ordered, I would suggest the probability that they were identical in all respects with those prescribed five days later for the mint in the Strand, the particulars of which are given in the following extract:—

2. On January 29th, 3 Edward VI., 1548-9, a commission was directed to John Bowes, esquire, treasurer of the mint within the King's manor of Dureham Place, Robert Recorde, comptroller, and

John Maire, assayer, ordering them to strike four coins of 22-c. gold according to the proclamation, viz., the sovereign, for 20s., of which 34 were to weigh 1 lb. Troy, the half-sovereign, "our Edward royall," 67 in the 1 lb. Troy, and the crown and half-crown, 136 and 272 respectively. Also the officers were to make two coins of 8-oz. silver, namely, the shilling, for 12*d.*, of which 96 were to weigh 1 lb. Troy, that is, 60 grs. each, and the half-shilling at the rate of 187 in the lb. Troy. They were to continue to strike groats, half-groats, pence, half-pence and farthings of 4-oz. silver in conformity with the limitations of an indenture, dated December 2nd, 1548, with certain other officers, unnamed, at Durham House. And, further, they were to continue the conversion of testons in accordance with a commission directed to the Tower mints on February 16th, 1547-8. *Patent Rolls*, 3 Edward VI., part 3, m. 22 *dors.*

As I have discussed at some length the history of Durham House in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. 14, p. 138, it will now be sufficient to say that although the fineness of both metals was increased, the weights of all the coins were reduced, as will be seen by a comparison with the details of the Tower indenture of 1547.

In the same article I ventured to express the opinion that coins marked with either the bow or the grappling-iron should be assigned to the workshops established in the Strand palace of the Bishops of Durham. It should be observed that the "shilling" and its half were ordered for the first time as current coins in January, 1548-9.

3. The Bristol commission, which is now lost, was directed to Sir Thomas Chamberlain, Robert Recorde and others on January 24th, 1548-9. They were therein told to strike shillings and half-shillings of 8-oz. silver, to continue the making of groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence of 4-oz. silver, by virtue of an indenture of February 16th, 1547-8, with Sharington, and to continue the conversion of testons under a commission of the last-named date. These particulars are derived from recitals in Chamberlain's account, which runs from January, 2 Edward VI., to March in the fourth year, *Exchequer Account* 303/6, and proves that 8-oz. fine shillings and sixpences were not struck in this mint.



I should, perhaps, recall the fact that the staff at Bristol Castle included a graver, Giles Evenet by name.

4. The Canterbury commission to William Tillesworth is likewise missing, but an outline of its provisions is obtainable from his official reckoning, which ends at Lady Day, 1550. The under-treasurer states that he was instructed on January 24th, 1548-9, to strike "moneys called shillings and half-shillings" of 8-oz. fine silver, and that in February, 1548-9, he coined 1,880 lbs. Troy of this standard, but he does not tell us whether both of the denominations were struck. In the same month he converted sundry testons into other coins also of the 8-oz. standard, amounting to 1,540 lbs. Troy and valued at 96s. the lb. I assume that the latter quantity is in addition to the former, and represents a separate transaction, *Exchequer Account* 302/25. It is not easy to decide which of Edward's profile shillings ought to be assigned to the issue of February, 1548-9. The coins marked with the lower-case t or with the heraldic Cross Tau, St. Anthony's cross, are dated 1549 and therefore cannot be ascribed to this coinage of 8-oz. fine silver, although the two varieties of the letter T may be reasonably thought to be Tillesworth's marks. There were pyx assays within this mint, before the high treasurer, of the 4-oz. and 6-oz. standards only. Details are not given.

The coins of 22-c. gold and 8-oz. silver, respectively, which were sanctioned for the coinage which I have described as the third, may be recognized in some cases by their mint-marks and weight. When these clues fail we may expect to identify the coins by an assay, or by determining the specific gravity, or by the less exact test of the touchstone and needles.

A second proclamation concerning the testons of 120 grs. was put forth on January 31st, 1548-9, extending the period during which they were to be current to May 1st then next, in consequence of their great number. And it was further ordered that persons who bought the coins from the poor should not exact more than 2*d.* in every 20*s.* for exchanging such testons. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

THE FOURTH COINAGE, 1549.

This coinage seems to have been even more limited in extent than the preceding issue. Three of the mints, Martin Bowes's at the Tower, Bristol, and Canterbury were chosen for this experiment, which was a retrograde step as regards the quality of the silver coins. There is no trace in the documentary evidence of similar orders being given to the other mints, which presumably continued to work under the provisos of the second coinage.

1. In default of an original document or an enrolment, I will again quote from *Exchequer Account* 303/5, which recites the issue of a commission to Peckham and Martin Bowes on April 12th, 3 Edward VI., 1549, whereby the latter was authorized to strike into print gold coins, unnamed, of 22 c. and "silver moneys called shillings" of 6 oz. fine. The same account states that gold coins were struck in various months, the quantity of 22-c. gold then used being included in the aggregate amount mentioned above under the third coinage, and that silver of the 6-oz. standard was coined to the extent of 41,604 lbs. Troy between April, 1549, and June, 1550. At this point *Lansdowne MS.* 706 adds some information as to the denominations ordered by this commission. We are told that they consisted of the sovereign and its half, and the crown and its half, the first-named piece weighing after the rate of 34 in the lb. Troy.<sup>1</sup> The shilling was to weigh 72 in the lb. Troy, or 80 grains each, and was to be of 6-oz. fine silver.

Martin Bowes also converted testons into other coins of 6-oz. fine, amounting to 21,855 lbs. Troy between May and October, 1549. They were valued at 72s. the lb.

A supplementary account from Martin Bowes deals with four months between July 1st, 1550, and October 31st in the same year. Within this period and by virtue of the above-mentioned order of April 12th, 1549, he had coined at the Tower 131 lbs. Troy of 22-c. gold, and 27,360 lbs. Troy in shillings of 6-oz. silver. Included in the latter quantity were 1,695 lbs. wrought in July, 1550, by the "moneys of Bristol," who were paid only 6*d.* the lb. weight for workmanship, as

<sup>1</sup> The same weight as the Durham House sovereign.

against 8*d.* paid to their brethren of the Tower. This unusual entry appears to show that after the dissolution of the mint in Bristol Castle the moneyers were brought to London, where they received the country rate of pay. It may be surmised that irritation ensued, seeing that the moneyers were a close corporation who stood very much on their dignity. At all events, the Bristol men worked in one month only. *Declared Accounts*, Audit Office, 1670/496.

I caused an assay to be made of a profile shilling dated 1549, with the *Timor* legend and marked with a swan. The report was "6 oz. 1 dwt. of fine silver in the lb. Troy." Another shilling of the same type and year, but marked with a y, yielded silver at the rate of 6 ozs. 6 dwts. in the lb. weight. The former coin may be regarded as the fruit of this commission to Martin Bowes, and the latter may be attributed to a similar commission to John Yorke, of which we have no other knowledge.

2. Then as regards Bristol, the *Exchequer Account* 303/6, which describes in great detail the under-treasurer's transactions, states that Peckham and Thomas Chamberlain were ordered by a commission of April 12th, 1549, to strike shillings of 6-oz. fine silver. No gold coins are mentioned. Later in the same document I read that 306 lbs. Troy of the prescribed standard of silver were coined in May and June, 1549, and that in the same two months certain testons were converted into other coins, unnamed, of 6-oz. fine silver, amounting to 538 lbs. Troy and valued at 72*s.* the lb. A profile shilling dated 1549 is known with the mint-mark T C in monogram.

3. Canterbury received a similar order on April 12th, 1549, by which the officers were directed to strike "certain moneys called shillings current for 12*d.*," of 6-oz. fine silver. This commission is not to be found, but the facts here quoted are contained in the title of Tillesworth's *Account* 302/25, and in the body of that document. Between July and December, 1549, 12,035 lbs. Troy of 6-oz. silver were coined, on which the King's gain was 38*s.* the lb., and between May and August in the same year testons were converted into 8,515 lbs. Troy of a similar degree of fineness, and were valued at 72*s.* the lb. I think that some, at all events, of these coins are

represented to-day by the shillings of 1549 bearing the mint-marks t and T.

I can now adduce some definite evidence as to the closing of the mint at Canterbury. Tillesworth credits himself with £49 18s. 3d., the amount of charges incurred by Sir Reynold Scott and three mint officials from London, who, with their servants and horses, lay at Canterbury for thirteen days in February, 1549-50, for the dissolving of the mint there. The expenses also included the conveyance to London of such ready money, bullion and plate as remained. This precise statement is very welcome amid so much that is confused and indefinite.

The addition of Sir E. Peckham's name to nearly all the mint commissions of this period is rather inexplicable as he had no direct concern, as high treasurer, with the operations of coining. I will hazard a guess that he was put in as watchman. Sometimes he slept, I fear.

The teston was the subject of yet another proclamation on May 22nd, 1549, wherein it was recited that such pieces, "coyned with the face and stamp of his Highnes most dear father," should have been brought into the mints to be exchanged for shillings or groats or other kinds of money; and that, owing to the number of testons made in the time of the late King and also counterfeited abroad, the date of their withdrawal had been enlarged until May 1st then last, but that only a few had been so brought in. The earlier proclamation was to remain in force, nevertheless sums due to the King might be paid in good testons, at the rate of 12d., until June 1st then next, and lawful pieces would also be received in the mints as bullion, at the same rate, until July 31st. The subjects might buy them, if made in any of the mints within the realm of England, at not less than 11½d. the piece, and bring them in for exchange. After July 31st testons would be received as bullion only, according to fineness. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

A month afterwards, on June 22nd, Sir Edmund Peckham sent to Sir Thomas Smith, the King's secretary, a certificate as to the quantity of testons received at the mints in London, from June 1st to the 22nd,

1549, to be converted or exchanged into current moneys. The figures are as follows—

Payments made for exchange, £20,288.

Testons received but not paid for, £15,150. *State Papers Domestic*, Edward VI., vol. vii.

These amounts, covering three weeks only, show that it was a very considerable task to hunt down and remelt this distressful coin of the previous reign.

The aggregate amount of all the convertible operations in London, when stated in pounds sterling, is £123,000, approximately.

In the Acts of the Privy Council there is a note of an order to John Yorke at Southwark, on July 31st, 1549, for the delivery of £250 in "demi-sovereigns," and a gold chain. In default of any evidence that Suffolk House took part in carrying out the third or fourth coinages, according to the classification in these pages, the half-sovereigns may have been of the second issue and therefore of the 20-c. standard. At all events we now know that gold was being coined there in 1549.

Active work in Bristol ceased at the end of October, 1549, *Exchequer Account* 303/6, and I have reason to believe that Durham House closed its doors about the same date, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xiv, p. 145, after a short career of some eleven months.

The *Patent Rolls* of the third year prove that Nicholas Throgmorton was appointed on January 1st, 1549–50, to be one of the under-treasurers of the mints in the Tower, presumably to replace Stephen Vaughan, who, it will be remembered, was one of the parties to the second indenture in 1547–8. In the meantime Vaughan had died, and his executor was told, in June, 1551, to make a final payment to the King.

I must now revert to Southwark for the purpose of quoting one of the "conversion" commissions, which is of peculiar interest to a student of Tudor numismatics, and for two reasons. First because it is the sole surviving document of its class, and, secondly, because it authorizes the use of the portrait and titles of Henry VIII.

Commission to Sir John Yorke, under-treasurer of the mint within the manor of Suffolk House, in the borough of Southwark,

Thomas Fletewood, comptroller, and William Knight, assay-master, there. The King being informed that divers of his subjects, since the time limited by the proclamation for the annulling of testons, had daily brought in such coins to his said mint, and having considered the losses thus suffered by them, authorizes the officers to receive by tale as many testons, not being counterfeit, as shall be brought in to the mint, to the value of four thousand pounds. And the same shall be melted and recoinced into groats, half-groats, pence and half-pence of the standard of 4 oz. of fine silver and 8 oz. of alloy in each lb. Troy, and shall "be made and printed with the hole face and inscripcion of our most deare late Father." The groats and half-groats shall not pass out if above the remedy of 3 dwts. at the assay and 6 dwts. at the shear. Twelve pence of recoinced money so made shall be paid for each teston brought in. The high treasurer of the mints is to allow to the under-treasurer, upon a vouched account, the cost of converting the coins, and any over-plus shall be paid to the King's use. Dated February 1st, 1549-50. *Patent Roll*, 4 Edward VI., Part 6, m. 17 *dors*.

At this period of the reign it is manifest that the Privy Council had become restive as to the conduct of affairs relating to the currency, and they took certain far-reaching steps on February 3rd, 1549-50, which doubtless led to the eventual suppression of the majority of the remaining mints.

A commission was issued to the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Sir Walter Mildmay, appointing them examiners of the accounts of Sir Martin Bowes and the heirs of Raffe Rowlit, who had been mint masters and also deputies to Lord Mountjoy in the reign of Henry VIII. The three commissioners were further empowered to call before them the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company who were alleged to have misused the standards.<sup>1</sup> A second commission of even date to the same three persons appointed them to be

<sup>1</sup> The accounts prepared by Martin Bowes and other mint officers, in obedience to this edict, have been frequently quoted by me in this and in earlier papers.

surveyors and comptrollers of all the mints, with power to change the officers, reform the ordinances and reduce the officers of the mint to one office only, it having come to the knowledge of the King that certain practices and uses within the mints in England and elsewhere required to be reformed and altered. Dated February 3rd, 1549-50. *Patent Rolls*, 4 Edward VI., Part 2.

The commissioners appointed by these two decrees took up their duties without delay, and one of the first results of their investigations was the closing of the mint at Canterbury, as already related on a previous page.

#### THE FIFTH COINAGE, 1550.

This coinage also was very restricted in its scope and was confined to two mints. Gold was ordered to be struck at Southwark, and debased silver at the Tower, as I believe, but there are no original documents relative to the latter issue.

The gold coins now ordered were restored to the old standard of fineness, viz., 23 c.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grs. in the lb. Troy, which had been abandoned by Henry VIII. in 1542.

On December 18th, 4 Edward VI., 1550, a commission was directed to Sir E. Peckham, Sir J. Yorke, Thomas Fletewood, William Knight, and John Germyn, all of Suffolk House in Southwark, authorizing them to make certain new moneys of gold, to be current according to a proclamation set forth in 36 Henry VIII., and to be of the standard of 23 c.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grs. fine gold and  $\frac{1}{2}$  gr. alloy in each lb. Troy, namely—

The sovereign, running for 24s., of which 24 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The riall, running for 12s., of which 48 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The angel, running for 8s., of which 72 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half-angel in like proportions.

For each oz. of 24-c. gold the officers may give 1 oz. of the new moneys aforesaid, by weight and not by tale. *Patent Rolls*, 4 Edward VI., Part 6, m. 13 *dors*.

The fulfilment of these instructions, if indeed they were fulfilled, must have been the expiring effort of the moneyers at Southwark.

Such evidence as is available, indirect though it is, clearly points to the fact that the mint in Suffolk House was dissolved in December, 1550, or in the following month, when the under-treasurer was heavily indebted to the Crown in the sum of £9,523. This latter circumstance, however, did not prevent the transfer of Sir John Yorke to another office of the same kind, as will presently appear.

The "riall," or half-sovereign, which finds a place in this commission, is now unknown, but the other denominations are represented by existing coins. There is also a so-called double sovereign, which may, as previously remarked, be regarded merely as a *piedfort*. I feel some hesitation as to whether these coins of the 23 c.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grs. standard are correctly attributed to the order of December, 1550, and I purpose to return to the subject when the sixth coinage, 1551, is reached.

The coinage of debased shillings, which shows a further diminution in the fineness of the metal, must now be noticed. I am unable to produce any documentary authority for the issue of these coins, neither the commission itself nor the subsequent accounts. The shillings are dated 1550 and 1551, and are marked with the lion, or the rose, or the lys; and occasionally the last-named mark is found in conjunction with Y on the reverse of the coin. It is apparent from entries in the King's *Journal* during the years 1550 and 1551 that coins of 3-oz. fine silver had been ordered and were being struck. We also have the statement in *Lansdowne MS.* 706, written shortly after 1611, which tells us that in Edward's fifth year a commission ordered shillings of 3-oz. fine silver. They were to weigh after the rate of 72 in the lb. Troy, that is, 80 grs. each, which corresponds approximately with the weight of the coins marked with the lion, etc. These "most base" shillings are specifically mentioned in a proclamation issued by Elizabeth in her second year, and were estimated to be not more than one-sixth part of the total number then in circulation.

At this point I have to chronicle the exit of Sir Martin Bowes, certainly the most prominent mint official of the sixteenth century, who began his career at the Tower about 1526 as deputy to the master-worker of that day. On January 24th, 1550-51, a pardon under the great seal was granted to Martin Bowes, Kt., alderman and goldsmith,



and one of the under-treasurers at the Tower, for all offences committed at the mint under his control. He then retired into private life, and subsequently gave bonds for £6,000, the amount of his arrears. Here again we may trace the reforming zeal of Lord Warwick and his colleagues. I am a little uncertain as to who filled the office vacated by Martin Bowes. There are several references in the *Exchequer Accounts* to one Christopher Levens, an under-treasurer at the Tower, and in the records of the Privy Council for January 2nd, 1551-52, I find that a man of the same names had been "committed to ward." Apparently no formal appointment was made in Levens's case, nor are there any accounts from him, and I can only take note of the occurrence of his name during the years 1551 and 1552.

Although the shilling with the profile portrait had now taken the place of the demonetized teston, the trouble was by no means at an end. The substituted coin having been proved to be almost equally unsatisfactory, it was cried down, together with two classes of groats, by a proclamation dated April 30th, 1551, which was to the following effect:—That testons, and groats of like baseness, which were set forth by the late King Henry VIII., had been counterfeited; that the King had consequently devised and made "other pieces of money called shillings at 12*d.* and groats at 4*d.* under another stamp," but these also had been counterfeited within and without the realm; that the coinage was to be reformed and brought to such a fineness as would make the same certain. Therefore shillings coined by the King and groats coined by the King and by his father must be rated more nearly according to their fineness, and after August 31st then next the shilling coined by the King would be current for 9*d.*, and the groat for 3*d.*, and no more, within the realm of England and in Calais. [Library, Society of Antiquaries.]

The economic situation in 1551 changed for the worse so rapidly that the Privy Council were unable to await the arrival of the appointed day. An amending proclamation was issued at the beginning of July, having been printed in June in anticipation of the formal order, which ran as follows:—

July 8th, 5 Edward VI., and 1551 of Christ. Whereas very lately the King had ordained that after August 31st then next the shilling should be current for 9*d.* and the groat for 3*d.*, and as the covetousness of certain people had raised the price of victuals and had made it needful to shorten the former day, therefore the King ordained that immediately after the publishing of the present proclamation the two coins should be paid and received at the rates aforesaid. *Chancery Warrants*, 2nd S., 935.

But this measure was also insufficient, and during the next month, August, 1551, a third proclamation was circulated. This is without a date, but the day on which it was to become operative is stated in the text of the warrant. It recites that the king had previously reduced the values of the shilling and groat, and that he had been minded to amend the fineness of his coin; that the prices of victuals had increased and waxed excessive, the remedy whereof was the speedy reducing of the coin more near to its just fineness. Wherefore it was ordained that from the 17th day of that present month of August the shilling should be current for sixpence sterling, the groat for two pence, and the half-groat, penny and halfpenny in like proportions, within the realm of England and in Calais. *Chancery Warrants*, 2nd S., 935.

The Acts of the Privy Council under the date of July 17th, 1551, record a letter to Peckham instructing him to receive all the moneys in the mints, and to stay all the mints from coining any more until further orders. At this time the only surviving establishment outside the boundaries of the Tower was that in the city of York.

In the following month the Privy Council again exercised their authority. They ordered Peckham and John Yorke, by a letter dated August 2nd, 1551, to cleanse and repair the house of Southwark Place and to leave it in as good a state as they found it. This incident terminated the six years' occupancy of Suffolk House as a mint, and it will now be convenient to explain the position of Sir John Yorke after his withdrawal or dismissal. He had been created a knight during the year of his shrievalty, and I have satisfied myself that the

late under-treasurer of the Surrey mint was transferred to the Tower, where he filled a similar position. This change affects the interpretation of the mint-mark Y, which is usually regarded as a Southwark emblem. All the coins of 1551 when marked with Y should, I believe, be placed among the products of the central institution, and I shall be able to prove that John Yorke was actively engaged at the Tower in making the full-faced silver coinage of 1551, and also, presumably, the gold coinage of that year.

Although the mint at Southwark had ceased to exist, its site continued to be known as The Mint, and was afterwards the resort of lawless and disorderly persons, who alleged that it was a privileged locality and that the King's writs did not run there. Two Acts of Parliament, 8 and 9 William III. and 9 George I., were required for the abolition of the evil.

On August 10th, 1551, the Privy Council issued a warrant to John Yorke to deliver £16,000 of the new coinage in shillings. If this order refers to the "fine silver" coins it could only be of an anticipatory character, because the type of the full-faced shilling had not been settled at this date, as a subsequent document will show. It is more probable that the Council meant the debased profile shilling of 3-oz. fine silver.

• THE SIXTH COINAGE, 1551.

At the beginning of this paper I said that the King personally concerned himself with mint affairs during the later years of his reign, in proof of which I can offer some evidence hitherto unprinted. Among the *Domestic State Papers* of Edward VI. is the draft of a letter, with many interlineations, from the Privy Council to Sir Edmund Peckham, dated September 25th, 1551. This communication sheds a welcome light upon the discussions with the King which preceded the instructions to begin the new coinage in the following month. That such a letter was in fact sent is attested by a memorandum in the books of the Privy Council on the same day.

The letter begins by expressing the determination of the King and his Council to amend the coinage and establish the same in fineness, and then proceeds to make known the King's pleasure :—

“As to the patterns of the coins, his Majesty liketh best those of the XIIId. and VIId. which have their figures not in arithmetic ciphers but in this manner, XII and VI, and the parliament robe with the collar of the order, and in the style of the pattern of VI. The word *Hibern* is written *Hiben* which must be amended, making the N a R. The king and we also think that his Majesty's face will not be well expressed wholly and totally on the coin, and therefore ye shall do well to express on the coin three parts of the face. The agreement to have the standard of XI oz. fine for the XIIId. and VIId. pleaseth his Majesty very well, and of the same standard his Majesty's pleasure is to have two other coins, one of 5s. and one other of 2s. 6d., of the which coins his Majesty wills that ye shall, when ye shall begin, coin a small number to see a proof thereof; the pattern whereof we send you herewith noted with his Majesty's own hand with the cipher of 5, being the lowest pattern [patrone] of IIIJ on a card of IIJ of ye spades, and on the other side of the 5s. to put the cross which shall be upon the XIIId. and upon the 2s. 6d. the cross which shall be on the 6d. The other standard also for the small money, viz., 1d. and  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to be of 4 oz. fine, his Majesty well liketh, and will have also of the same standard a coin of a farthing, and therefore we most earnestly require you to cause all good speed to be had that may be for the graving and sinking of the irons and prints of all these said coins, viz., of the standard of 11 oz. fine the coins of 5s., 2s. 6d., 12d. and 6d. and of the other standard of 4 oz. fine the coins of 1d.,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. And if . . . Derryck shall be found fit for the graving then we would he were appointed, with John Lawrence, being named by you and others for a cunning sinker. If Dyrrick be not fit therefor, then to certify us of your opinions. Concerning the officers [?] which shall be in commission for these purposes, these be to let you understand that the King's Majesty's pleasure is that for the coinage of the fine [moneys] Sir John Yorke and

Mr. Nicholas Throkmorton's deputy, whose name ye shall know shortly, shall be in commission, and for the small moneys George Gale at York and Lawrence Warre at Canterbury; and therefore we would also speed were made with making the minutes of these commissions, and, further, to put into the same commissions authority for the other officers requisite hereto, taking the same which have served last heretofore, except some of them shall be thought not convenient, and in that case we would ye also certified us of such as you shall think meter [?] for the same, and of all other things requisite to the furtherance hereof. And the said minutes being sent to us we shall shortly return your commission for your proceeding . . . And your other coins which ye made for proofs we shall deliver to you at our next coming thither."

Endorsed—1551, minute to Sir Edmund Peckham, knight, XXV September. *State Papers, Domestic*, Edward VI., vol. xiii, No. 47.

It is conceivable that one of the pattern coins mentioned at the end of the foregoing letter may be the piece known as a shilling and dated MDLI, with the *Timor* legend on the reverse, which is illustrated by Hawkins as No. 419. The occurrence of the ostrich's head as a mint-mark on this pattern will be discussed on a later page.

The moneys struck during the last quarter of the year 1551 were in truth a new coinage, and not merely an attempt to improve the standard of one or two denominations as was the case in some of the earlier issues.

The preliminaries having been settled by the letter of September 25th, which conveyed the King's wishes to Peckham, the latter quickly arranged the final details, and a commission to the officers of the Tower mint was signed on October 5th then next. Many allusions to this document occur in the pages of books on numismatic subjects, from Lowndes's *Essay* in 1695 down to the present time, but the respective authors were apparently unacquainted with its precise date and

stipulations, indeed *Ruding* says that it "is not known to exist." The original commission has not survived, unless in private hands, and an enrolment was again omitted, although the new departure of 1551 was of very considerable importance. Under such circumstances I was glad to discover that two copies have been preserved, one being a manuscript in the Ashmolean Collection which is now in the Bodleian Library, and the other being one of the *Additional Manuscripts* at the British Museum. As the document has never been published, I will append a full extract, but before doing so I will comment upon three points arising out of the Council's letter of September 25th.

During the ten days which elapsed between the despatch of this letter and the signing of the commission, an alteration was made in the fineness of the prospective silver coins. The instructions to Peckham specified the standard of 11 ozs. fine for the main coinage, whereas the order to the mint prescribed, as will presently be seen, the use of a slightly better standard of 11 ozs. 1 dwt. fine silver in each lb. Troy. The King's *Journal*, under the date October 1st, 1551, states that the silver was to be 11 ozs. fine, but the royal diary does not always agree in every detail with the Exchequer papers, when the latter are available for comparison. Edward's notes on currency matters are frequently interesting, but the memoranda as to bargains or negotiations with his mint officers are sometimes difficult to comprehend to-day. I would also allude to the mention of Canterbury as one of the places in which the debased pieces were to be struck. Presumably the Privy Council wished to reopen the defunct mint in that city, with another under-treasurer as successor to Tillesworth, but there is no evidence whatever that the intention was carried into effect. In the absence of such proof, it would appear that the moneyers at York were alone employed in making the small coins of 4-oz. fine silver, as that mint was still in being. The third point is the remarkable omission from the letter of any reference to the designs for the two gold coinages, one of which, at all events, is represented by a new type.

I will now set out the material portions of the order which was the corollary, as regards the "fine moneys" only, of the letter already cited.

Commission directed to Sir John Yorke, one of the under-treasurers of the mints in the Tower, Nicholas Throckmorton, another under-treasurer, Sir John Godsalue, comptroller, William Knight, assaymaster, and John Jermyn, provost of the moneyers, there. The King, having resolved to make certain new moneys of gold and silver, authorizes the officers to strike into print of the standard of 23 c.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grs. of fine gold and  $\frac{1}{2}$  gr. of alloy in the lb. Troy, three coins, namely—

The sovereign, running for 30s., of which 24 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The angel, running for 10s., of which 72 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

And the angellet in like proportions.

The remedy shall be  $\frac{1}{2}$  gr. in the lb. Troy, called  $\frac{1}{8}$  carat, either in the assay or in the shear, or in both.

Also, to strike of the standard of 22 c. of fine gold and 2 c. of alloy, four coins, namely—

The sovereign, running for 20s., of which 33 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half-sovereign, the crown and the half-crown in like proportions.

The remedy, 2 grs. in the lb. Troy, called  $\frac{1}{8}$ th carat.

Gold may be coined for the subjects and delivered by weight, at a charge of 2s. 9d. the lb. Troy for fine gold, and 3s. for crown gold. Also to strike four pieces of silver of "the standard of the sterling," holding 11 ozs. 1 dwt. of fine silver out of the fire, and 19 dwts. of alloy in the lb. Troy, namely—

A piece of 5s., running for 5s., of which 12 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The half of 5s., running for 2s. 6d., of which 24 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy.

The shilling, running for 12*d.*, of which 60 shall weigh  
1 lb. Troy.

The half-shilling, running for 6*d.*, of which 120 shall  
weigh 1 lb. Troy.

Remedy, 1 dwt. in the lb. Troy.

Silver of the standard of sterling may be coined for the subjects  
and delivered by weight, at a charge of 12*d.* per lb. Troy.

“And we will also that you . . . doe keep a pix with three  
severall keys,” and take out of every journey of gold, “by  
two of you,” one piece at the least of every several coin, and  
the like out of every journey of silver, for the assays thereof  
to be taken by the high treasurer of the mint according to  
the establishment, or by such other person as may be  
appointed. And to the intent that the said moneys of gold  
and silver shall be as richly made in weight and fineness as  
may be conveniently done, you shall make the said moneys  
as nigh to the said standards appointed as you, keeping  
yourselves out of danger, may conveniently make the same.

The great seal was attached at Hampton Court on October 5th in  
the fifth year [1551]. Also signed by the King, eleven  
members of the Council, and two mint officers. *Additional  
MSS.* 18759, fo. 69, and Black's *Catalogue of Ashmolean  
MSS.*, No. 862, fo. 399-408.

The three coins of fine gold now ordered are identical in weight  
and quality with those mentioned in the commission of December 18th,  
1550, but their rating is increased. Mr. R. Ll. Kenyon tells us on  
p. 113 of his work that it is not possible to distinguish the fine gold  
coins of 1551 from those of 1550, as only one mint-mark, the ostrich's  
head, occurs. I would suggest, as a solution of the difficulty, that  
Edward's fine sovereign, angel, and angelet be transferred to the 1551  
coinage, and for the following reasons:—

- a. The fact that the mint at Southwark was closed in December,  
1550, or January, 1550-1, renders it doubtful whether any



coins were struck there in pursuance of the commission of December 18th.

- b. The "riall," or half-sovereign, of 1550 is not known to exist, although it was then ordered. On the other hand, this coin was omitted from the order of 1551, which would explain its absence at the present day.
- c. The mint-mark ostrich's head on the "horseman" shilling dated 1551 appears to form a connecting link with the three gold coins bearing the same mark, and to support my suggestion that the latter belong to 1551. I have previously shown that Peckham, whose mark the ostrich's head is believed to be, was closely associated with the arrangements for the new coinage in this year.

All the coins of 22-c. gold which are mentioned in this commission can be identified without difficulty. They are slightly heavier than the coins of the same standard ordered at Durham House, where the lb. Troy of gold contained thirty-four sovereigns.

With regard to the silver coinage, two new denominations, the crown and half-crown, were introduced, and the fineness of the metal was only 1 dwt. in the lb. worse than the original standard of the Plantagenet and earlier kings. The weight of the shilling was 96 grs., that is, 16 grs. more than the shilling of the fourth coinage. Notwithstanding this increase, the proportionate weight of the penny, if it had been ordered, would have been only 8 grs. There is also an existing new denomination, namely the threepence, for which the commission did not provide, and I have been unable to find any warrant for the striking of a coin of this value. Probably it was the subject of an additional order at a later date. At all events, it was struck in much smaller numbers than the shilling and half-shilling, as it is now comparatively rare. I should add that the penny of fine silver, with the seated figure, is also without any existing documentary authority.

The new "piece of 5s." contained silver equal in value to the previously existing gold crown, hence it obtained its colloquial name of "crown."

With the object of finally settling the question of which standard of silver was actually used at this time, I caused an assay to be made of a full-faced shilling with the mint-mark Tun. The report proved that the lb. Troy contained 11 ozs. 1 dwt. of fine silver, precisely the degree of fineness ordered by the commission. This is one of only two instances, among many assays of Tudor silver coins, in which I found that the purity of the metal conformed exactly with the standard prescribed.

A few lines may be devoted to the graver who was responsible for the new types of gold and silver coins which were struck in 1551. The Privy Council's letter of September 25th in that year opportunely serves to remove a doubt as to the name of the artist. I would recall that I said in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, xiii, 358, that Derick Anthony was appointed to the office of graver at the Tower from Michaelmas, 1551, and that his predecessor Robert Pitt, then recently deceased, might conceivably have engraved the irons for the new dies. The Council's letter indicated certain designs which had been chosen, and added that Derick was to be employed "if thought fit for the graving." Thus the question is satisfactorily solved.

Although John Yorke and Nicholas Throgmorton now controlled the two mints at the Tower, their respective accounts as under-treasurers have not survived. Nevertheless, by a happy chance an account by Edmund Peckham yields some timely, but unusual, information as to one section of the work done by virtue of the commission. It appears that the high treasurer happened to be the channel through which a certain parcel of silver bullion was supplied to John Yorke, and that consequently the particulars as to the disposal of this metal were included in Peckham's figures, which as a rule have no concern with the details of coinage operations.

There had been delivered to Sir John Yorke at the Tower, 6,543 lbs. Troy of fine, that is, 12 ozs., silver bullion, between October 20th and December 31st, 5 Edward VI., 1551, to be coined into the standard of 11 ozs. 1 dwt. fine, of which each lb. Troy would contain 60s. by tale. The bullion produced in ready money £20,963, the charges being 12*d.* the lb. weight, which sum was coined from 7,106 lbs. Troy of silver of the 11 ozs. 1 dwt. standard. *Pipe Office Account*, 2079.

This extract clearly denotes that in the autumn and early winter of 1551 the late under-treasurer of Suffolk House was making the new coinage at the Tower, and that the mint-mark Y should, as regards this particular year, be no longer attributed to Southwark.

I must turn for a moment to the city of York and its mint, in which the pence, half-pence, and farthings of the 4-oz. standard were to be struck, as directed by the Privy Council's letter of September 25th. There is a recital in a subsequent commission to George Gale, to be presently mentioned, that he had been a party to an indenture dated December 10th, 1551. This latter document is missing<sup>1</sup>, but it seems highly probable that the debased small moneys were then ordered, together with, perhaps, the York half-shilling and threepence of the finer standard which was used for the improved coinage at the Tower.

For a few months there was an absence of any new instructions, but meanwhile Lord Warwick, now the Duke of Northumberland, and his colleagues were still pursuing their enquiries. During the quarter ending at Lady Day, 1551-2, John Yorke and Throgmorton were dismissed from their respective offices at the Tower, and the Privy Council thenceforth refer to them as the "late" under-treasurers. By a minute of June 19th, Throgmorton was permitted to receive an additional sum of 50 marks, that is, three months' salary from March to June, 1552, and he was told to pay his arrears to the King.

It seems necessary to reconsider the mint-marks Y and tun in the light of the Council's action. The dated coins of this issue with the Y mark are all of the year 1551, which fact confirms my opinion as to the time when John Yorke was displaced at the Tower. It follows, therefore, that all undated coins with this mark were struck before March, 1551-2. Then as to the mint-mark tun, which was thought to be a punning allusion to Throgmorton's name so long ago as 1745, when Martin Folkes's book<sup>2</sup> was printed. The tun occurs on dated coins of this

<sup>1</sup> On December 17th, 1551, Mr. Mildmay was directed by the Council to see that the mint indenture for the city of York was signed by the officers there; and the King would then sign the counterpart.

<sup>2</sup> The same work ascribes the Y mark to Sir John Yorke, so the interpretation of both symbols has now acquired an almost venerable standing.

issue of the years 1551, 1552 and 1553. The first of these dates can be assigned to Throgmorton, the second probably cannot, and the third certainly cannot be so assigned. In which direction, then, should we look for the explanation of this mark? In attempting to answer the question I would refer to *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 169, where I pointed to Thomas Egerton as the one official of that period whose surname furnished a possible but very doubtful clue to the mint-mark E on coins of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Having regard to the date of his appointment, I felt and still feel considerable hesitation in suggesting that the E marked coins should be ascribed to this officer, and therefore I now venture to put forward an alternative proposal for identifying the mark which distinguished some of the coins struck by Egerton. If the mint-mark tun has been correctly regarded as a canting allusion to the name of Throgmorton, who ceased to be associated with the Tower in March, 1551-2, then the same mark on coins of a later date may, with equal probability, bear a similar relationship to the last syllable of the name of his successor, Egerton.

On March 26th, 1552, a new "establishment" was introduced at the Tower mints. The inner history of this upheaval is, I fear, lost to us, but the outward signs are reflected in the *Patent Rolls*, which contain a number of new appointments to offices, and pardons for some of the ejected. The changes in the staff were accompanied by a reversion to the system of control which obtained before 1544, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 154, namely, to have only one mint within the Tower. The old titles of "warden" and "master-worker" were, however, not restored to the officers, and the head of the undertaking was still described as under-treasurer, or sometimes treasurer. The following new grants of offices passed the great seal in May and June, 1552 :—

Thomas Egerton, *armiger*, "our servant," to be treasurer of the exchange and mint at the Tower, as from the Feast of the Annunciation then last past, and during good pleasure.  
8 June.

Thomas Stanley to be comptroller, during life.

John Browne to be surveyor.

Diric Anthony to be chief graver, as from Michaelmas then last past.

Three officials were granted annuities on retirement, namely, Thomas Fletewoode, Richard Wigmore, and Sir John Godsalue. The *Patent Rolls* also contain an entry recording the forgiveness of those who had failed in restraining offences of a serious character—

The King of his grace pardons John Yorke, knight, under-treasurer of the mints within the Tower of London and the town of Southwark, Nicholas Throgmorton, *armiger*, another under-treasurer at the Tower, John Godsalue, knight, comptroller of the same, Thomas Fletewoode, mercer, comptroller of Southwark, William Knight, mercer, assaymaster of Southwark, William Dunche, gentleman, auditor of the Tower and Southwark, William Billingsley, haberdasher, assaymaster of the Tower, and Thomas Stanley, goldsmith, assaymaster of the Tower, for all transgressions concerning the mint, including the making of dies, changing of alloys, diminishing, cutting, breaking, dissolving and washing. Dated June 21st, 1552. *Patent Roll*, 6 Edward VI., Part 4, mm. 37-8.

There were three candidates for the vacant office of under-treasurer at the Tower, as appears from the following memorandum relative to the business of the Privy Council: "The discharge of the mints in London; appointment of one in Sir John Yorke's room; named, John Freman, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Pyrrye." Another note reads: "The discharge of the superfluous officers of the mints; the books devised for the same." *State Papers, Domestic*, Edward VI., vol. xiii, Nos. 10 and 12. These memoranda are undated, but are placed in March, 1551-2. Egerton, as I have shown above, received the appointment, and Pyrrye had to be content with the Dublin mint.

The new under-treasurer was instructed by the Council on July

17th, 1552, to deliver from the Tower £2,000 of the finer money of the new coin in exchange for old coin, or if he had not so much, then as much as he could.

There is a letter from the mint-masters in the city of York to the Duke of Northumberland, dated April 9th, 1552, in which they acknowledge the receipt of letters of March 26th and 29th, and say that they had stayed the base standard of all small moneys. The Duke is informed that they were charged at that moment with the sum of £600 and more, received into the mint from the King's subjects, and the Council's pleasure thereon is asked. They had coined £800 of the small pieces, most of which had been already despatched, but the remainder would not be sufficient to produce the fine moneys which ought to be given to the subjects; and they wished for advice. *Harley MSS.*, 38. On July 26th in the same year a further letter was sent to George Gale and his colleagues, declaring that the King would have no more base money coined at York, *Acts of the Privy Council*, but this decision was reversed within seven months by a new commission to strike silver coins of the lower standard.

Lawrence Warren, or Warrye, goldsmith, the late assaymaster at the mint in Canterbury, received a formal pardon on December 18th, 1552, for all misdeeds committed there. *Patent Rolls*, 6 Edward VI., Part 7, No. 81. The original grant, with the great seal attached, is now exhibited in the London Museum at Lancaster House, formerly Stafford House, St. James's.

One more item may be chronicled as to Nicholas Throgmorton. A grant of an annuity of £100 was made to him on January 28th, 1552-3, in consideration of a surrender of his patent as an undertreasurer at the Tower. We may therefore assume that he was not among the more flagrant offenders.

The last of the orders issued to the mint in the city of York was in these terms :—

Commission to George Gale, John Wynde, Richard Lee, and John Munnes, provost of the moneyers, at York. The King being minded to convert and alter certain of his base coin

into small moneys, authorizes the officers aforesaid to receive by tale from time to time all such silver moneys, except of the standard of the sterling, as shall be brought to the said mint. And to melt down, convert and coin the same into pence and half-pence of the standard of 4 oz. of fine silver and 8 oz. of alloy in each lb. Troy, which coins shall be made in accordance with the provisions of a pair of indentures between the King and the officers aforesaid, dated December 10th in his 5th year [1551]. And the officers shall deliver by tale so much of the smaller moneys as shall countervail the sums of money now current which may be brought into the said mint. Dated February 20th, 7 Edward VI. [1552-3]. *Patent Roll*, 7 Edward VI., Part 8, m. 16 *dors*.

The weights of the above-mentioned penny and halfpenny are not defined in terms, and the indenture to which reference is made has not survived; nevertheless I think that the larger of the two coins ordered in 1552-3 can be identified as the double-rose penny with the York legend on the reverse and the pierced mullet as a mint-mark. The halfpenny of this issue may not have been struck, as it appears to be at present unknown. The duty now assigned to George Gale was the conversion of silver coins, possibly the debased profile shillings, of the 3-oz. standard into smaller pieces of 4 oz. fine in the lb. Troy, a scheme which again illustrates the experimental nature of the measures adopted by those in the highest places. There is good reason to believe that the mint at York remained open, although doing unimportant work and probably in a moribund condition, until the end of Edward's reign, as the *Pipe Office Account* 2080 shows that Gale's reckoning with the high treasurer closed on the last day of February, 1 Mary, 1553-4.

I must now take note of the latest of the many divergent instructions<sup>1</sup> given to the central mint at the Tower, which had reverted to its original status in the spring of 1552, as previously

<sup>1</sup> I have not classified this order of 1553 as the seventh coinage because of the doubt which exists as to whether the mint acted upon it.

explained, and had become a single organization under the charge of Thomas Egerton. This official had in the meantime presumably continued the striking of the gold and silver coinages ordered by the commission of October, 1551, but no accounts are forthcoming for the periods 1552 and 1553. We have, however, silver coins dated in these two years, which are evidence of some degree of activity.

About four weeks before the King's death, which occurred on July 6th, 1553, a new contract of a subsidiary character was drawn up and signed. The appended abstract is derived from the original document :—

Indenture with Thomas Egerton, esquire, Thomas Stacey,<sup>1</sup> and William Billingesley who are thereby established as treasurer, comptroller, and assaymaster, respectively, of the mint at the Tower, for the conversion and coinage of the current moneys and bullion thereafter mentioned. The treasurer is authorized to take in at the mint such sums of current silver moneys, except of the standard of sterling, as do not exceed £200,000 in all, which amount shall be melted down and struck into print in two manner of moneys, namely, the two-pence, current for 2*d.* of lawful English money, of which 240 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy. The penny, current for 1*d.* of lawful English money, of which 480 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy. To be of 4 oz. fine silver and 8 oz. of alloy in the lb. Troy, which shall contain 40*s.* by tale.

And the treasurer may also receive so much bullion of fine silver as shall amount to 40,000 lbs. weight Troy, which shall be struck into moneys called sixpences, to be current for sixpence of lawful English money, of which 72 shall weigh 1 lb. Troy. To be of 3 oz. fine silver and 9 oz. of alloy in the lb. weight, which shall contain 36*s.* by tale.

Provision for a remedy, and for a privy mark, the latter to be declared to the King or his Council.

<sup>1</sup> This surname should be Stanley ; his Letters Patent are mentioned *supra*.



Of every journey of 4 oz. fine and 3 oz. fine silver, 6*d.* at the least to be placed in the pyx.

The officers' pay to be in accordance with the establishment appointed on March 26th, 1552. Dated June 11th, 7 Edward VI., 1553. *Exchequer Accounts* 306/3.

The deed is sealed by Egerton with a device comprising a merchant's mark between the letters T E.

The first portion of this indenture prescribes a half-groat and penny of an appreciably greater weight than the corresponding pieces of the first and second coinages, the penny then being 10 grains, but now 12 grains of the 4-oz. standard of silver. It will be remembered that the proclamation of August, 1551, reduced by one-half the current values of the debased silver coins, from the shilling to the halfpenny inclusive. Now, as it would appear, the effect of the proclamation was partially disregarded, because the weight of the "twopence" was not that of the groat, which was presumably current in 1553 for 2*d.* of lawful English money, and similarly the "penny" should have been the equivalent in weight to the debased half-groat. On the other hand, the second portion of the indenture now under consideration does recognize the validity of the proclamation, inasmuch as it provides for the issue of a coin of 80 grains, that is, the weight of the majority of the profile shillings, which was to be current for "sixpence" only. This may, perhaps, be regarded as an academical rather than as a practical point, seeing that no debased silver coins of 80 grains and dated 1553 are known to exist at the present time. The natural presumption that they were not struck owing to the King's death in the following month is, perhaps, negatived by a memorandum among the *Domestic State Papers* which tells us, *inter alia*, that silver alloys of the two standards mentioned in Egerton's indenture were used in 7 Edward VI., *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, XV, 6. It is, however, a little doubtful whether the passage refers to bullion actually used in that year or merely to the terms of the order which directed its use. The unfortunate absence of any accounts from the under-treasurer of the Tower for 1552-53 renders it impossible to test by those means the accuracy of the memorandum in the State

Papers. There is, however, an account by Sir Edmund Peckham, the high treasurer, from April 1st, 1552, to May 13th, 1554, *Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office 2080, which states that Thomas Egerton had received two parcels of silver bullion valued at £20,000 and £15,500 respectively in May and June, 1553, but a portion, or even the whole, of this metal may have been appropriated to the 5s., 2s. 6d. and other fine silver coins of that year. It may be noted that no gold bullion was then delivered to the under-treasurer. Peckham also records in the same account that Egerton had made sundry payments in respect of mint revenue from the Tower. These payments began on September 4th, 1 Mary, 1553, and totalled nearly £5,000 on the 18th of the same month. Seeing that Queen Mary's first indenture was dated August 20th, it seems unlikely that such a large revenue would have accrued within two or three weeks, and therefore it is more probable that these profits are referable to Edward's moneys, either the fine silver coinage or the three debased coins ordered on June 11th, 1553. Such is the available evidence as to whether Egerton did or did not carry into effect the provisions of his contract. There is a double-rose penny weighing approximately 12 grs. and marked with an escallop, *Handbook*, p. 90, No. 472, which might be assigned to this year, but I cannot trace a corresponding half-groat. A halfpenny with the same mark does, however, exist.

Before quitting the subject of this perplexing indenture, I would remark that the "sixpence" is identical in name, weight and fineness with the coin ordered in Martin Pirry's indenture of June 27th, 1552, for the mint in Dublin Castle. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xv, p. 223.

A payment of £100 to Robert Brocke, probably "parson Brocke," of the late mint in Southwark, and John Rogers for "devising certain coining engines," indicates that the appliances at the Tower were improved about this time, although the reward was not paid until after Queen Mary's accession. *Pipe Office Account*, 2080.

Egerton was subsequently treated with unjust severity, if we may rely upon the truth of the facts stated in a petition presented by him to Sir Francis Walsingham. It is narrated that the petitioner had been

M 2

under-treasurer of the mint in the reign of Edward VI., and that he had accounted to the Lord Treasurer in the first year of Mary, when £265 was found to be due to Egerton, as appeared by the sealed account then extant; that soon afterwards, "by the sinister solicitation of such as thirsted after his office and hated his religion," he was committed prisoner to the Fleet and charged again with £9,182, which had been allowed to him in the account; that he was condemned in that sum and forced to sell his substance at a great loss; that "a little living" in Staffordshire for the maintenance of his wife and family had been seized under a writ of Extent and charged with £19 per annum towards the debt; and he asks that the lands might be sold and a composition paid to the Queen in discharge of his remaining liability. *State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. 146, No. 57.

Having now summarized the available documentary evidence relating to the several coinages which were ordered during Edward's reign, I wish to add a few general observations on the coins themselves. I feel sure it will be agreed that during, say, the first three years of the period under review a large proportion of the currency was issued with the portrait and titles of Henry VIII. In *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. xiv, p. 153, I attempted an explanation of this practice so far as some of the silver coins were concerned, and suggested that Henry's testons, weighing 120 grains, were converted into other moneys of his types, and not into those of Edward VI.

The lack of any working accounts from Southwark and the absence of an unquestionable Southwark mint-mark before the year 1549 render the identification of Sir John Yorke's earlier coinages a matter of considerable difficulty. In default of better evidence an investigator has to choose such mint-marks and types as have not been definitely assigned to other establishments then existing. I still feel that the proposed attribution to Southwark of certain groats, etc., with the *Civitas London* legend, both of Henry's and Edward's types, is open to great doubt, *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 168. If we are free to say that the place-name on a coin is not conclusive proof that it was struck at the mint in that city or town, we lose a most

valuable sheet-anchor in the task of classification. In this case it is, I think, beyond dispute that Southwark was an independent organization as much as Canterbury or Durham House was, and I would again submit that Suffolk House or the town of Southwark was not at any time within the city of London.

Another interesting point is the approximate date of issue of the groats and smaller pieces bearing the portrait and titles of Edward VI. The text-books place them in the first coinage, but this date, as I have already said, appears to be too early, and I would prefer to assign them to the third coinage, my classification, in 1549. They are probably of the 4-oz. standard of silver, but the rarity of these coins is at present a bar to the sacrifice of one of them on the altar of the assayer. We have a profile shilling of 1549 marked with the arrow, and a profile groat with the same mark and the *Posui* legend; there is also a profile half-groat with the arrow mark and the *Civitas London* legend. It seems to be a proper inference that all these coins are contemporaneous and from one mint, namely, Martin Bowes's portion of the Tower. Unfortunately, there is not a shilling which corresponds with the profile groat marked with an E. Again, we have another groat of the same obverse type, with the *Posui* legend and mint-mark pheon; this mark is also found on a shilling of 1549.

Before closing these notes, I will briefly comment on Edward's profile shillings, a group which has been rather neglected by numismatists in the past. Those shillings with the *Inimicos* legend, always undated, have been ascribed by me to the mint at Durham House, without correction so far as I am aware. Those with the *Timor* legend are arranged in the text-books according to the dates, and we are told that certain of the pieces have the obverse and reverse legends transposed. There are, however, three other important factors in settling a classification of the *Timor* coins, namely, their weights, degrees of fineness, and styles of portrait.

The earliest shillings, those of 1547 and 1548, may be regarded as trial pieces or patterns, as they are very limited in number. There is no authority for an issue of this denomination in the former year, and none in the latter year until the end of the tenth month.

I have satisfied myself that the current shillings ordered in January, 1548-9, weighed nominally 60 grains each of the 8-oz. standard of silver. These light coins of 1549 appear to have been struck solely with transposed legends; at all events, I have not yet seen any examples on which the King's titles surround his portrait. I possess a "transposed" shilling of 1549, without mint-mark on the obverse and with a rose[?] on the reverse, *Ruding*, ix, 9, which weighs only 51 grains, although unclipped. This may be one of the coins of 9-oz. fine silver alluded to by Folkes and by Snelling, but there is no written authority for the use of such a standard, unless it was covered by the go-as-you-please clause in the order of January 29th, 1548-9. The light shillings have a wider and more pleasing portrait than the subsequent issues, and may also be distinguished by a beaded inner circle, the later coins having wire-line circles. Also, the light pieces read VITÆ and the heavy examples VITE.

Then follow the shillings of the 6-oz. standard, chiefly dated 1549, and a few 1550, which were ordered on April 12th, 1549. These weigh 80 grains each, or thereabouts, and cannot easily be confused with the light coins; moreover, their legends are not transposed. It is this class, the 6 oz. fine, which we find countermarked with the portcullis.

Lastly, there are the shillings of 1550 and 1551, bearing the marks lion, lys, and rose. These are of the 3-oz standard of silver, and in addition to being very debased they frequently fall short of their nominal weight of 80 grains each. When they are countermarked it is with the greyhound. The portrait is narrow and pinched, as was noticed by Lord Winchester in 1560, when he wrote as follows:—"For in the good testons the image of the King hath a short neck and a round face, and in the ill testons the Prince hath a long neck and a lean face, which I take to be as good a knowledge as any mark." *Domestic State Papers*.

The transposition of the legends on some of the 1549 shillings can scarcely have been a mistake, as it occurs on coins attributed to three different mints, although it is conceivable that the dies for these coins were worked by one graver. The practice forms, however, a useful clue to identification, because it appears to be a sound deduction that

Edward's gold coins with transposed legends are referable to 1549, of which year we have "transposed" shillings with mint-marks similar to those on the gold pieces. The latter would therefore be of the 22-c. standard, as ordered in that year.

It may have been thought particularly fitting to encircle the head of the boy-king with words which implied his attachment to the sentiments contained in *scutum fidei proteget eum* and in the two Biblical quotations which were similarly used.

#### COINAGES OF HENRY VIII.

##### *Corrigendum.*

A lapse of memory when books of reference were not at hand caused me to say in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 152, that the quarter angel of Henry VIII. made its first "and also its last" appearance in 1542. The words now placed between inverted commas should be deleted.



PETITION "FOR THE RESTORING OF FARTHING  
TOKENS: 1644."

By PROFESSOR F. P. BARNARD, M.A., F.S.A.

**R**UDING<sup>1</sup> gives a full account of the contents of the pamphlet published in 1644 entitled *A Remedy against the Losse of the Subject by Farthing Tokens*. These were, of course, the "Harringtons" and their successors. In opposition to that manifesto there was printed in the same year a pamphlet in support of those pieces. The latter publication is dismissed by Ruding in a few words,<sup>2</sup> but as it contains some interesting features, and is now scarce, it appears to deserve reproduction. Apparently, too, it is the only extant expression of the views of those who favoured the "Harringtons": for otherwise, so far as we know, only their enemies seem to have spoken. The petition referred to on page 2 of the pamphlet is presumably that of September 24th, 1642.<sup>3</sup>

The pamphlet here given will tell its own story, but a few points in it may be noted. Its actual size is 7 inches by 5½ inches, and it contains ten pages in all.

It argues<sup>4</sup> that one reason for the opposition to the "Harringtons" was based upon the selfish interests of the private issuers of small change, which may well have been the fact. Conversely, this paper was doubtless inspired by similar motives on the other side. Complaint is made<sup>5</sup> that the circulation of each private token was confined to the business of its issuer, for it was refused by rivals who struck their own pieces, and the holders of these coins were thus forced to deal with their utterers. Hence the buyer was denied the lower prices and

<sup>1</sup> Edition of 1840, i, 402-3, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 403, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Commons Journal*, ii, 780.

<sup>4</sup> Page 3.

<sup>5</sup> Page 5.



better goods that would result from competition unhampered in this way, as would be the case when there was a common currency such as that provided by the "Harringtons."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the event of the failure, absconding, or death of a tradesman who stamped his own coin, the customers were left with money on their hands which no one else would honour.

On page 6 are named certain unusual materials of which private tokens were sometimes made at that time: leather, horn and wax. Specimens of the first named are in the British Museum, one of which is dated 1650.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with the denial<sup>3</sup> of the charge that some of the "Harringtons" were imported from abroad, attention may, on the other hand, be called to the private farthing-token of William Hall,<sup>4</sup> which was obviously made at Nuremberg. The obverse is of the *Reichsapfel* type, and closely resembles the *rechenpfennige* struck there by Hans Krauwinkel, the Laufers, and others.<sup>5</sup>

The pamphlet, while offering, as a reply<sup>6</sup> to the objection of the difference between the nominal and the intrinsic value of the "Harringtons," the plea that the makers deserved some profit for their trouble, does not attempt to explain why that difference need have been so vast as it was.

On page 8 it is conceded that the "Harringtons" ought not to be compulsory tender above 12*d.* in 10*s.* or £1. This is an admission of an abuse which had crept in; since it had been expressly stated that acceptance of them was to be voluntary, and by a proclamation of 1634 it was particularly forbidden that, even when accepted, more than two pence should be paid in them at one time.

<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know, however, whether in any neighbourhoods a "clearing-house" system, or a mutual acceptance of one another's coins, was agreed upon by private issuers in the same locality. This, we know, existed to some extent among the circulators of the eighteenth-century token-money.

<sup>2</sup> See "Leather Currency," *Brit. Numis. Journ.*, iii, 311-28.

<sup>3</sup> Page 6.

<sup>4</sup> Williamson's *Boyne*, ii, p. 1423, No. 38.

<sup>5</sup> I notice this in my forthcoming book, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board, a Chapter in the History of Numismatics and Early Arithmetic*, Oxford University Press, under German Jetton No. 92.

<sup>6</sup> Pages 7, 8.

The final argument<sup>1</sup> is noteworthy. It is urged that the "Harrington" coins would be useful as money of necessity during the Civil War, especially as they had recently been approved by both parties.

The following is the transcript<sup>2</sup> :—

[Title page.]

The Humble  
**PETITION**  
AND  
REMONSTRANCE  
*OF SOME HUNDREDS*  
of Retaylers, who have Sparkes  
*of Charity, and Reason in them.*

And of Country Chap-men of the  
Associated Counties, and of thousands of  
poore people besides : For the Restoring of  
Farthing Tokens ; who are extreame-  
ly damnified, and are like to perish  
by the suppression  
of them.

*Printed in the yeare 1644.*

[Page 1.]

TO BOTH THE HIGH  
AND HONOURABLE HOUSES  
of Parliament.

The humble Petition and Remonstrance of some hundreds of  
Retaylers, who have sparkes of Charity, and reason in them ;  
and of Countrey Chap-men of the Assosiated Counties, and of

<sup>1</sup> Page 9.

<sup>2</sup> The pamphlet is reproduced in full and as printed, save that the long s used throughout the smaller print, except, as usual, for the final letter of words, is printed as s ; and, of course, the then form of the capital F, which is so often mistaken for, and erroneously reproduced as, ff, is here rendered F.—*Editor.*

Thousands of Poore people besides, for the Restoring of Farthing-Tokens, who are extreemly Damnified, and are like to perish by the suppression of them.

LAMENTABLY shewing: That these dismall dayes, (as it seemes) surpasses other destructive times. For now the Axe is laid to the rootes of Shrubs, whereas heretofore tall Cedars bare off the Stroake: And doubtlesse all the Engineers on both sides since these Warres began, have not by their Stratagems finished the dayes of more men; Then a very few Retayling Tradesmen by their gilded sinister suggestions (being meere covetous Earth-wormes) are like to doe; not only of men, but of women and children also: If consideration be not had of the Petitioners present complaint: Wherein the pretended Grievance, and Objections to these handfull of Retaylers (the poores adversaries, though their best customers) are really answered, and truly /set forth: For the shadow of him that rides on the Pale Horse hath already made an impression in the faces of your Petitioners: And the vacuity of their Bowels by their inward contraction, sounds shrill, and loud in the eares of such as passe by them; and say, *Woe betide them that were the cause thereof, &c.*

[Page 2.]

For as much therefore, as all their temporall Hopes of present Reliefe concerning this their most urgent Cause, and best outward Piller that supports their very Being; depends wholly upon these two capitall Houses, or chiefe Courts of the Kingdome. They therefore humbly beseech, That your Honours commiseration of their deplored Estates may be answerable to your Greatnesse, and that the same may not be referred to any other Court; but that these ensuing Objections and Reasons may be here deliberately considered of, and according unto equity granted; That so your poore Petitioners fainting soules may be revived, and maintained to pray heartily for your Honours prosperity.

The complaining Retaylers maine Objections against Farthings in their Petition printed, and presented to the Parliament two yeares since, are these, in their owne words ;

*Viz.*

*Object.* That the allowance of one and twenty shillings in Farthing-Tokens, for twenty shillings in money, hath been the chiefest cause of their great Burthen ; For many covetous persons have usually fetched out great quantities of Farthings, and forcing them upon poore labouring people.

*Answ.* 1 They that complaine most of their losse, are (though it seeme a Paradox) the greatest gainers, because they are the chiefest Retaylers, and principall venters of their commodities to the poore. For certaine it is, that all such that in a Retayling way sels by Peny, halfe-peny, and Farthings worth, gain more by twelve pence in the pound at least, then other Shop-keepers do, that sell by greater quantities, &c.

[Page 3.] 2 The poorest people are these Retaylers best customers, and constant /frequenters. If therefore the current of the poores Farthing Revenue be stopt ; These complainants will lose by the decay, and ebbe of their custome, more then the losse of twelve pence in the pound ; and then wish they had not leap't out of the Frying-pan into the fire, as some of them already doe.

3 If there were as many silver pence, and halfe-pences coyned as now there are Farthings ; Yet those will not by a fourth part as much availe the poore as Tokens will ; Partly in regard that it is the hereditary use, and inclination of men to delight

in, and retaine Silver more warily then Brasse, and partly because, he that can, or will give a Farthing, either cannot, or will not bestow a halfe-peny, or peny : And therefore that old saying, *Many a little makes a mickle*, is now a maine plea for the poore, and consequently for these few Silver-thirsty Retaylers, if they well understood it.

4 If the apprehension of these Retaylers had been well composed together, and their minds freed from extreame covetousnesse, they would never have lifted up their voice against Farthings, if they had conceived but these two Reasons only.

1 In regard of the settled Excize, which turnes to their accompt, and cleare benefit twelve pence in each Barrell, which is two shillings in the pound gaine to them more then ever they had : For the Excize is but two shillings upon the Barrell ; and they, when they sell cheapest, have peny farthing for each quart, which Farthing upon the quart, is just three shillings in the Barrell.

2 To suppress Farthings at such a time, when a quart of that liquor which refreshes the spirit of the poore, is raised a Farthing higher then ever it was ; doth cause such a peevish continued trouble in their small distracted rules of Arethmetick ; and is such a fretting whet-stone to sharpen the edge of their groanes, that it will endanger the renting of the clouds. Besides, it is most unseasonable (as it is humbly conceived) that this mighty storm of the losse of three-score or foure-score thousand pounds at least should /fall upon the distressed subject, when they are already in a languishing condition, through the decay of Trade, contraction of mens hearts, and the absence of people ; that there is as much elbow-roome now in this City, as in some remote Corporation Townes. Therefore a Reformation in this at present, is (as

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it were) a new peece of cloth stitched to an old ragged garment, which will make the rent far worse.

- 5 That in their said printed Petition, they say some five hundred subscribed to it; Whereof, (if so) two parts of them are Victuallers, or victualling Chaundlers, who gaine more by the Tap, then by all their other Trinkets (and so much the more by meanes of the Excize) and but foure or five of these five hundred were the only Stickles, or Bell-weatheres that tincklet the rest in (as heretofore they have under-hand attempted to doe) and these doe it, but to maintaine some superfluous sauce to their full dishes, having their eyes clos'd up with *Sauls* persecuting scales, that they cannot behold one glimpse of Providence, but what they find and feele in their owne fingers: Whereas on the other side, here are ten times so many thousand, who are constrained to make hungér their best sauce, and are glad to have wherewithall to sustaine nature, and behold Providence shineing each day upon them, as the birds of the ayre doe. Therefore, although Christianity lyes slumbering, yet the Body Politicke is awake; and surely will not esteeme more of a few full-fed, well-lined Retaylers, then a great number of Lean-ribb'd, thin-cloth'd Christians, that nothing makes the difference, but that the sheres went side-ways in the cutting out of the peece; or else say that the Head hath no need of the little Toe, or of the very nayle thereof: But surely that Body will preserve all. For it is said, *The poore you shall have alwayes with you*; unlesse now by this means they will be altogether starved: As some report they are, who observe the weekly Bills of Mortality; That many already departs this life by a new kind of Plague, for not having the old Tokens<sup>1</sup> about them, &c.

- 6 That without all doubt, these few complaining Retaylers know full well, that their said poore customers traficke neither for

<sup>1</sup> A play on the word "token" in the sense of "plague-spot." See, for instance, Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year*, Brayley's edition, 1835, pp. 84, 120, 169, 271, 277.

[Page 5.] /the Gold of *Opher*, nor for the Silver wedge of *India*, but (for the most part) possesse that mettall that suits most with their low estate, which are Farthings ; And therefore these Retaylers (let them say what they please in their petition) knowing what Coine their said Clyants trade most in : Doe oft-times provide such ragged stuffe, and decayed Comodities for them ; as withered costive Cheese, twice-bak'd Bread, Butter of a stronger odor, Drinke that stood long out of its proper element, and all other things in their defect ; So that if they lost two shillings in twenty in Farthings ; Yet, if their large consciences did not hold downe their hands they would lift them up, and lay them upon their mouthes, and say one to another Tace &c.

- 7 That this very point is the Gulph of their conceipts, and the mystery of their griping iniquity, mixt with vaine glory (*viz*) To suppesse these Farthing Tokens, that so they may advance their owne Tokens, Stamps, Seales, Names, Signes, Superscriptions, if not Images, as now appeares (though they be far inferiour in dignity to *Cæsar*) And also altogether oppugnant to divers waighty reasons both in the King, and his Royall Fathers Proclamations issued out for restraint of theirs, but for the allowance, and confirmation of these Farthings : By meanes whereof they rivet, linck, and incorporate their Customers unto them, and seale them up for their owne selves ; so that they cannot move an Intch to any other Tradesman, because their Coin is not currant out of that narrow Clymate : Which thing in it selfe is really the greatest oppression that can be imposed upon distressed people ; and makes good the last mentioned reason, That their poore customers will now be constrained to accept of their said decayed commodities, and at what prices they please : But these Farthings retaine that vertue in them, which is derived from a superiour Power, and therefore passe through to most places, and at all times.

[Page 6.] 8 That if these troublesome Retaylers had taken the paines, but to have pluck't out a peece of each of the beames that are in their eyes ; they would have seene clearly how small a mote of Inconvenience these Farthings have made ; and on the contrary /what a Mountanous fallacy, and deceit these their Tin, Pewter, Lead, Leather, Horne, and Wax Tokens doe bring to passe : For ; when any of these Retaylers that have thus clinch'd in their said customers, either dye, run away, or break (as it is a common accident in these tottering times) Then all these trashie inferiour Tokens are immediately defunct, and choak'd up in the nest, and of no vse at all ; So that whosoever possesseth any of them, are subject to a monthly fraud, and mutation ; Whereas the other sort is scarce subject unto the like, once in a Coronation.

9 That the foresaid Country Chap-men doe (as it seemes by their froward words) faint under their present Assesments, and wonder that this unexpected, By-Blow should fall so unseasonably upon them, That they begin to Reelee about, and say they have as many Farthings in their custody as will beare their charges awhile in the Kings Army, where they will passe : Yet being loath to leave house, and home ; they most vigilantly attend the Carriers weekly returne from *London* to bring them happy Tidings of their Restauration againe ; Which if they, and the rest, faile of their Hopes therein, It may (as it is humbly to be feared) beget some Inconvenience, that otherwise may be easily, and requisitely prevented.

10 That upon an Ayry suspicion, or a meere invention, which some malignant Retaylers were alwayes prone to conceive for to suppress Farthings, onely for their owne Ends ; It was given out, that Tokens were Imported from forraine parts ; upon which Alderman *Chambers* was desired to make diligent enquiry of the truth thereof ; which he accordingly did ; and found, that none at all had been at any time imported, vnlesse

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they should be wafted from beyond seas within the Sculles of their Cunning Contrivings.

- [Page 7.] 11 That these few Retayling Incendiaries doe at present Boulster up themselves in their hard-hearted Imaginations, and verily beleeeve that the just out-cry of the poore is now hush't, and become but a nine dayes discourse, because they are somewhat /silent, through the feeblenesse of their bodyes, and contraction of their Lungs, and in regard they suppose some of these poore people have withdrawne themselves from these parts ; If that be so ; O ; but then where are they gone into the Countryes, and what can they hope to have there ; but either Pilfer a little to linger out Nature ; or otherwise to have scope enough under the Cope of Heaven, and the Covert of a Hedge, or Ditch to surrender up their last Breath into the hand of that Power that challengeth Revenge to belong proper unto himselfe ; Who wil impresse such a knowing stamp upon them for their full Requitall, as they doe upon their paultry Tokens for the poores Deceipt.
- 12 That the State by the suppressing of Farthings lose a very Considerable yeerely summe ; which surely would be better had, and reserved, then lost, and cast away like the snuffe of a Candle to offend others ;

But howsoever these opposers of freindly Tokens absolutely confesse in their said printed Petition, That to lay downe the office will be inconveinent, for then (say they) all Retayling Trades will want small moneyes, and the poore Reliefe. Therefore the Remnants of their retayling wares, afford these scraps of Charity for a remedy to support the office.

- 1 The first is, That the Office be settled onely in the power of the Crowne.

*Ans.* That was their Concept when their Petition was then printed ; and may be ordered as the State please ; if they be now of the same mind.

- 2 The second is, That the Extrinsick Denomination, and the Intrinsick value of a Farthing may step somewhat neerer in proportion.

*Ans.* These are fine words that fills their brains to as small purpose, /as such great peeces of Brasse would doe their Boxes : But the cause of their Grievance being removed (which is the supposed losse of twelve pence in the pound) their Complaint being the effect thereof, will vanish away.

- 3 The third is, That it may be felony either to Import, or Counterfeit them.

*Ans.* That may be ordered so, if the State please.

- 4 The last is, That no Advantage be allowed in the Issuing of them out, or returning of them into the Office.

*Ans.* Surely, this is but a very Close-fisted lumpish motion ; To imagine that such extraordinary paines, charges and attendance should be bestowed about Farthings, and that no profit should accrue to the managers thereof : For which of them wil take the paines to compasse, and score out a Cheese into so many penny worths, and then receive no benefit by it &c.

But the present case, and remedy humbly proposed, and earnestly implored from the rice of Dejected soules are onely these Three.

- 1 That the State would be pleased so to order it ; That all Covetous persons whom these Retaylers complaine of in their said Petition ; who fetch out great quantities of Farthings, and force them in payments upon poor labouring people : May be enjoyned under a penalty not to force, or pay above twelve pence in ten, or twenty shillings in any such payment &c.

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- 2 That all the benefit, and profits of the said office may alwayes remaine there in safe Custody under two or three Locks ; and not hereafter to be transported beyond seas, as it hath been, but reserved constantly for Rechange, and vse of the State ; And that the restoring of these Farthing Tokens and Confirming of the said office againe, may be by your Honours Order published in all needfull places.

[Page19.] 3 And lastly ; That forasmuch as there is now a unhappy Channell cut out in the Kingdome, that is very proper to receive this supposed flowing streame of Farthings (though it were far bigger) that overmuch waters the Meadows of these few Retaylers Conceits (*viz*) This war ; That therefore the common souldiers may receive twelve pence or more in each ten shillings of their Pay ; Doubtlesse they would then vse such Retorick in all Corporation Townes where they came to, that without any difficulty they would passe current ; And surely they would be very necessary for them ; because they might then have a pint of Beere for a Farthing, which now they cannot have ; And indeed these Tokens are as vsefull in such places, as in this City : Besides there is seldome any civill or vncivell Warres, but it hath its illegitimate Coyne ; and verily, that Coyne is most properest to remaine at present, that was approved off on both sides within these few dayes.

By this meanes the floud of these few Retaylers complaint, will be wasted, and dried up.

And the poores Revenue recovered from a Non-suit, and themselves revived.

And all men will expect that Old Things shall passe away, when a Long-looked-for Peace shall be established in our *Israel*.

FINIS.

The seventeenth-century private tokens were sometimes known by the name of "Traders," and the following extract, which shows this, has a further interest as early evidence of their being collected: "There are a Species of Coins called *Traders*, a kind of Half-pence, that were in Use an Age or two ago, and which every Tradesman had Permission to coin for himself, to be of use in Change, only marking them with his Name, and that of the Place he lived in, as a Promise to take them again as Money on Demand. I have with long Application, you are to know, collected Traders of all the principal Places in Berkshire, but, till a Week ago, I never had one of the Town of Maidenhead in that County, when I purchas'd this."—*The Adventures of M<sup>r</sup>. George Edwards, a Creole*, 3rd edition, London, Osborne, 1751, p. 189.



# THE GOLD COINS ISSUED FROM THE MINT AT OXFORD, 1642-1646, IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

BY PHILIP NELSON, M.D., F.S.A.



THE purpose of the present paper is to pass in review the various coins struck in gold at the mint at Oxford during the period 1642-1646, but before doing so we will give a brief résumé of the events which occurred at Oxford at this time.

Upon October the 23rd, 1642, was fought the somewhat indecisive battle of Edgehill, or as it was first called, Kyneton Fight. Subsequently to which event, upon the following day, Charles drew off his forces in the direction of Oxford, which city he entered, together with his two sons, Charles and James, accompanied by Princes Rupert and Maurice, upon October the 29th.

Already by October 26th, the wounded and stragglers from the battle of Edgehill had begun to enter Oxford, which from this time forth, until its surrender by the King's command in 1646, became the capital—for such it may be justly termed—of royalist England.

The choice of Oxford as the royalist capital was in some measure forced upon the King by the indecisive character of the battle of Edgehill, since the forces of the Earl of Essex still blocked the way to London, the stronghold of the Puritan party.

The selection of Oxford, however, as a centre of military activity, was perhaps upon the whole fortunate, in that it stood in regard to the outlying loyal garrisons in the same relation as the hub of a wheel does to the rim. From this circumstance it was possible, by waging war from a central point, to rapidly concentrate forces for the relief of any threatened position upon the periphery.

On the other hand, the distance at which Oxford lay from the seaboard of England rendered it very difficult to obtain arms and other munitions of war from the mainland of Europe, Bristol on the West Coast being the nearest port available for this purpose.

Upon his entry into the city the King at once converted Christ Church College into his palace, whilst the twenty-seven cannon, brought off from the field of Edgehill, were parked in the grove of Magdalen College, and New College became a magazine of arms.

The royalist troops were billeted upon the various Colleges and private citizens, the latter being disarmed, and their weapons given to the loyalist undergraduates; whilst at the same time a powder mill was opened at Oseney. The city was at once put into a state of defence, and as the fortifications at the beginning of the war were in a very defective condition, in order to raise the necessary defensive works, the citizens were compelled to labour with pick and spade, for stated periods, in default of which service they were obliged to pay or provide a substitute.

Throughout this period of the Civil War, there were two Parliaments sitting in England, the one at Oxford, subservient to the King, the other at Westminster.

The Parliament of Oxford consisted, like the other, of two Houses, the Lords, who sat in the Convocation House, and the Commons, whose members sat in the Upper Schools. Thus at one and the same time there were two Parliaments in being, each of which considered and declared the acts of the other to be illegal.

In July, 1643, Queen Henrietta Maria joined her husband at Oxford, bringing in her train a numerous army, and what was perchance of even greater moment, an adequate supply of arms and warlike stores. The Queen remained in Oxford from July the 13th, 1643, until April the 2nd, 1644, during which period she held her court at Merton College. Oxford remained the centre of royalist activity, until its surrender by the command of Charles upon June 24th, 1646, previously to which the King, having left Oxford upon April 27th, after a roundabout journey, arrived at Newark on May 5th, where he gave himself up to the Scottish army.

The garrison of Oxford, at the date of its surrender, was under the command of Sir Thomas Glemham, perhaps better known as the defender of Carlisle, and numbered in all some five thousand regular troops. In addition there were "three auxiliary regiments consisting of gentlemen and their servants, scholars, citizens and inhabitants, who were not properly of the garrison in pay." One of these auxiliary regiments, which was recruited in a large measure from the ranks of the legal fraternity and their servants, was known to fame as the "Caroline Devil's Own" and was first commanded by Lord Keeper Littleton. The garrison was allowed, by the terms granted upon the capitulation, to march out with all the honours of war, which it duly did upon June 24th, 1646, arriving at Thame midst such a dismal downpour of rain that the dripping standards clung dejectedly to the poles, and there surrendered those arms, which had justly made it as much respected by foe as admired by friend.

Oxford University was at the opening of the Civil War plenteously endowed with cash and rich stores of plate, and so early as July the 11th, 1642, we find the King writing from York to Dr. Pridaux, Bishop of Worcester, the then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, requesting the loan of money, for which he expressed himself as prepared to pay interest at the rate of 8 per cent. Upon this understanding Convocation met and, promptly falling in with the King's wishes, forwarded to him such moneys as were at that time in the Savile and Bodley chests as also that in the University chest, which amounted in all to the sum of £860.

From the Register of All Souls—

July 11th, 1642.—Upon a letter from the King, the College agreed to lend all the ready money in their Treasury, viz., £351 7s. 3d., and that they would borrow as much as is owing to the said Treasury upon the College Bond, which is £300, in all £651 7s. 3d., to His Majesty's use, receiving an acquittance for the same, by His Majesty's direction, from Sir Richard Chaworth, Chancellor of Chichester.



July 18th, 1642.—The King writes a letter from Beverley in Yorkshire to Dr. Pridaux, the Vice-Chancellor, wherein he “returns his royal thanks for a most large and ample testimony of the affection of his loyal University by the free loan of a very considerable sum of money, in a time of so great and urgent a necessity.”

Whilst under the date November the 2nd, 1642, occurs this: I, Mathew Bradley, paymaster general of his Majesty's Army, have received of the Worshipful the President and Fellows of Trinity College in Oxford, the full sum of Two hundred pounds for his Majesty's use and service.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the President  
and Fellows of Trinity College, in our  
University of Oxon.

CHARLES R.—

Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well.

We are so well satisfied with your readiness and affection to our service, that we cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to express the same, and as we are ready to sett or engage any of our land, so we have melted down our plate for the payment of our Army raised for our defence and the preservation of the Kingdom. And having received several quantities of plate from diverse of our loving subjects, we have removed our Mint hither to our City of Oxford for the coining thereof, and we do hereby desire you to lend unto us all such plate, of what kind soever which belongs to your College, promising you to see the same justly repaid unto you, after the rate of 5s. the ounce for white and 5s. 6d. for gilt plate, as soon as God shall enable us: for assure yourselves we shall never let persons, of whom we have so great care, to suffer for their affection to us, but shall take special order for the repayment of what you have already lent us, according to our promise, and also of this you now lend in

plate, well knowing it to be the goods of your College that you ought not to alien, though no man will doubt but in such case you may lawfully lend to assist your King in such visible necessity And we have entrusted our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir William Parkhurst Knt. and Thomas Bushell Esq., officers of our Mint, or either of them, to receive the said plate from you, who upon weighing thereof shall give you a receipt, under their or one of their hands, for the same And we assure ourself of your very great willingness to gratify us herein, since, besides the more public considerations you cannot but know how much yourselves are concerned in our sufferings. And we shall ever remember this particular service to your advantage.

Given at our Court at Oxford this 6th day of January, 1642-3.

January 24th, 1642-3.—Original paper of Corpus Christi College :

It was agreed that our College plate should be sent unto the King, according to his letter of Jan. 7. 1642-3.

“ By us      ROB. NEWLIN, Pr.  
and four more [Fellows].

January 19th 1642-3.

Received of the President and Fellows of Trinity College in Oxford, in plate for his Majesty's service as followeth :—

In white plate	130 lbs.	8 oz.	15 dwt.
In gilt plate	40	10	15

Feb. 2. 1642-3.

Received of the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College in Oxford, in plate for his Majesty's service, as followeth :—

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.
In white plate	208	4	18
In gilt plate	38	0	3
Total	246	5	1

LIST OF PLATE PROVIDED BY THE OXFORD COLLEGES<sup>1</sup>  
JAN. 20. 1642-3.

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.
Cathedral Church of Christ ...	172	3	14
Jesus College ...	86	11	5
Oriel College ...	82	0	19
Queens College ...	193	3	1
Lincoln College ...	47	2	5
University College ...	61	6	5
Brasen Nose College ...	121	2	15
St. Mary Magdalene ...	296	6	15
All Souls' College ...	253	1	19
Balliol College ...	41	4	0
Merton College ...	79	11	0
Trinity College ...	174	7	10
Total	1610	1	8

Exeter College did not immediately comply, having "conscientious scruples," but by February the 2nd it yielded under pressure 246 lbs. 5 oz. 1 dwt. of plate, whilst at the same time the local clergy and gentry gave up 701 lbs. 10 oz. 9 dwt., as will be seen from the table given below.

LIST OF PLATE SUPPLIED BY THE CLERGY AND GENTRY.

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.
Sir Peter Wich, Comptroller, etc.	360	5	13
Dr. Smith, Parson of Tredington	33	4	0
Plate brought in by William Barefoote	13	10	15
Mr. Leviston, of the Bedchamber	178	5	18
Mr. Andrew Boreman	12	2	13
Mr. Hipsley, presented by Dr. Tolson	103	5	10
Total	701	10	9

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from Tanner's Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library.

The amount of plate provided by the University and from private sources was therefore as follows :—

	lbs.	oz.	dwt.
College plate as per list	1610	1	8
Exeter College	246	5	1
Private Munificence	701	10	9
Total	2558	4	18

which, coined at five shillings per ounce, would amount to the sum of £7,675. 4. 6.

To the Vice Chancellor, and the rest of the  
Convocation

CHARLES R.—

Trusty and well-beloved we greet you well.

Whereas we have lately by our letters and the several heads and fellows of every College in this our University, desired the loan of all the plate belonging to these our said Colleges, for the supply and maintenance of our army raised for the defence of us and these whole Kingdoms: And Whereas we are informed that there are other quantities of plate belonging to our University for the use of several halls, which cannot be disposed of but by the consent of the Convocation.

We have thought fit, etc. Oxford Jan. 25. 1642–3. Quibus perlectis etc. omnis cœtus magistrorum regentium et non regentium annuebat, ut quæcunque vasa et utensilia, argentea et deaurata, in aulis invenirentur, ad usum Serenissimi etc. 31 Jan. 1642–3.

Under 1643 Anthony Wood writes :—

This year the plate which had been given to A. Wood, by his godfathers and godmother, which was considerable, was, with

all the other plate in Oxon, carried by His Majesty's command to the Mint at New Inn, and then turned into money to pay His Majesties armies.

Upon December 15th, 1642, Charles established a mint at Oxford by proclamation, which mint was to be in operation at New Inn Hall. On January the 3rd, 1642-3, numerous carts arrived from Shrewsbury containing the coining plant and workmen from the mint in that city, and a few days subsequently to this, others arrived from York; the latter doubtless under the direction of Nicholas Briot. The mint at New Inn Hall was under the masterships of Sir William Parkhurst and Thomas Bushell, the latter having previously been mint-master at Aberystwith, to which position he had been appointed so early as 1637, but later he had been in authority at Shrewsbury.

The Shrewsbury mint was established in September, 1642, upon the removal of Charles from Nottingham, and here was minted such plate as the University had sent to the King, at Nottingham, in the month of July.

In the King's speech to the gentry at Shrewsbury occurred the following passage: "He had sent for a mint, and would melt down all his own plate, and expose all his land to sale or mortgage, that he might bring the least pressure upon them." The mint at Shrewsbury was worked under the directorship of Thomas Bushell by artificers from Aberystwith, but owing to the lack of the necessary tools and workmen, it was unable to produce a greater quantity of coins than 1,000 lbs. per week.

Amongst the officials employed at the Oxford mint at this time the following artists stand out prominently, namely, Nicholas Briot, Thomas Rawlins, and Nicholas Burghers.

Thomas Bushell, 1594-1674, who was born at Cleeve-Prior's in Worcestershire, at the early age of fifteen entered the service of Sir Francis Bacon, and subsequently to Bacon becoming Lord Chancellor, went in his company to the Court of James I. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, but it was chiefly due to Bacon's assistance

that he became aware of "many secrets in discovering and extracting minerals."

Bushell early got into monetary difficulties, owing to his experimental researches in mineralogy, and he gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to the great Chancellor, who had earned his gratitude "by paying all my debts several times."

In his later years, 1650, he admitted, in a work published at London, entitled *Mr. Bushell's Abridgement of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Prosecutions*, how much he owed to Bacon's teaching in the domain of research among the precious metals. After Bacon's fall in 1621, Bushell wisely went into retirement, living first in the Isle of Wight; whilst after Bacon's death in 1626, he went to live on the Calf of Man, where in a hut 500 feet above sea-level, he existed for three years as a vegetarian. In 1629 Bushell returned to England and lived at Road-Endstone in Oxfordshire, where he possessed a moderate estate, and here he was, upon two separate occasions, visited by Charles I., the second visit occurring in 1636.

After the death, in January, 1636-7, of Sir Hugh Middleton, Bushell became the lessee of the royal silver-lead mines in Cardiganshire. In accordance with a proposal made by him, a mint was set up at the Castle of Aberystwith, in order that the silver extracted from the mines in the neighbourhood might be converted into coin without delay.

The mint started operations in July, 1637, Bushell being Warden and Master-worker. Throughout the period of the civil war Bushell gave every evidence of his devotion to the royal cause, so much so, that we find the King writing in June, 1643, to him recording "the Maine True services you have actually done us." At the outbreak of the war Bushell removed his coining engines from Aberystwith, first to Shrewsbury, where much of the Universities' plate was converted into coin,<sup>1</sup> and subsequently to Oxford, arriving there in January, 1642-3.

<sup>1</sup> See "The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion," *British Numismatic Journal*, ii, 291-358, by the same author.—*Editor*.

Bushell remained as one of the Masters of the Mint, associated with Sir William Parkhurst, at Oxford till 1646, at which time he retired to Lundy Island, off the north coast of Devon, whence he continued to issue silver coins of small size, until the surrender of the island on February the 24th, 1646-7.

Subsequently to this he remained in hiding until August, 1652, when he made his peace with the Parliament.

During the Protectorate and later, in the reign of Charles II., Bushell conducted mining operations in the Mendip Hills, with, however, indifferent success; since in 1663 we find him petitioning the King "for a royal protection from arrests for two years, having contracted great debts in the service of the late King, which he hopes to repay in time from his mineral proceeds."

Bushell died in April, 1674, and was buried in the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

Sir William Parkhurst was appointed Warden of the Tower mint by James I. in 1625, was continued in office by Charles I., and subsequently to the Restoration, was reinstated in his position by Charles II. Under August 1st, 1662, we find the following minutes of the Privy Council: "All persons possessing dies of Charles Ist to bring same to Sir William Parkhurst, made by Briot and other Engravers, which were then in the possession of Messieur D'Avaux, Monsieur Le Roy and Mr. Ramage. Sir William Parkhurst was also to examine the person who had offered some of His late Majesty's puncheons, which were upon the same day exhibited to the Board." Sir William Parkhurst appears to have died during the year 1671.

Poem entitled,

"A Curse to Vulcan, occasioned by a great fire in Oxford, which began at the roasting of a pigge 1643."

"You dined, Hell doe you good on't, at the pigge,  
Which sure was roasted well, wer't nere so bigge:  
But not content to feed as you could catch,  
On so course meat as hospitable thatch,

You foam'd and chafed, tasted the Braines and Hay,  
And swallowed all the woodyards in the way.  
And then you and your warme Tempestuous trayne  
Followed by sent into a close by-lane [New Inne Lane]  
Where you had seised the Mint, but that withall  
Aurum Potabile was too cordiall.  
Where you had injured those by rash designs [Sir W. P. his  
quarters]<sup>1</sup>  
Whom virtue more than all thy flame refines."

Nicholas Briot was born at Damblain, in Lorraine, in 1580, and was, during the years 1606 to 1625, Chief Engraver at the Paris mint. His earliest work, however, is a medal of Henry IV. of France, dated 1608. In 1612 he was also Engraver of coins to Henry II., Duke of Lorraine, and during the years 1616 to 1625 was constantly experimenting in the striking of coins by machinery, which method of manufacture he endeavoured, with but little success, to introduce into the French mint.

Whilst in France, Briot found employment at the mints of Paris, Nancy, Charleville, Sedan and Verdun, and for several years he practised the medallic art under the greatest French engraver of that period, namely, Guillaume Dupré.

In 1625, disgusted at the treatment he received in Paris and under pressure of considerable financial difficulties, he crossed to England, entering the Tower Mint on the 16th of December, 1628, to which, in 1633, he was appointed Chief Engraver. From 1635 to 1638 he was employed at the mint at Edinburgh, the date of his appointment being August the 7th, 1635, but he was only able, after surmounting many difficulties, to commence work as Engraver on July 21st, 1636; and he was installed as Master of the Mint by command of the King on August 3rd, 1637. Here he remained employed till early in 1638, at which time, probably, he returned to the Tower, since we find his work upon a half-crown of the Tower Mint bearing the mint-mark Anchor of that year.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Parkhurst, Master of the Oxford Mint.



On May the 6th, 1642, Briot was summoned to York, but was apparently unable to comply with the King's demand, since on May the 30th Charles excuses him from coming, owing to his late indisposition. Upon June the 21st Briot was again ordered to come to York at once, bringing with him all his instruments, whilst upon the 30th of June orders were given to Sir William Parkhurst to supply money for Briot's journey, and the importance of departing speedily was impressed upon him. On the 3rd of January, as previously remarked, carts arrived at Oxford from Shrewsbury, bringing with them the coining plant and workmen from the mint in that city, and a few days later others arrived from York, the latter no doubt under the direction of Nicholas Briot.

In 1643 there is a considerable advance in the quality of the work executed at the Oxford mint, which, as suggested by Miss Farquhar, we may attribute to the influence of Rawlins.

In 1644, in the month of April, one gathers that Briot was in Paris.

Briot died in London in December, 1646, and was buried in the Parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Thomas Rawlins was born in 1620, and having been apprenticed as a goldsmith, became in due course a pupil of Nicholas Briot, under whom he was employed for several years, at the Tower Mint. Early in the Civil War he went to Oxford, where he found employment, engraving dies for various medals awarded to the Royalist troops. It was not however until 1644 that his initials first appeared upon the coins issued at that city; in which year was struck that celebrated coin "The Oxford Crown," upon the obverse of which appears, beneath the horse, a view of the city of Oxford, and from an inspection of the coins issued subsequently to 1643 it would appear that the majority of the pieces minted in Oxford were from his hand.

Upon the death of Briot, we find that Rawlins was appointed Chief Engraver to the mint, and after the surrender of the city he appears to have earned a precarious living by engraving dies for

tradesmen's tokens, not a few of which are signed with an R. After the restoration, Rawlins was again appointed Chief Engraver to the Royal Mint, a position he held until his death in 1670. Not only was he justly celebrated as a medallist, but he also enjoyed no small reputation as a writer of plays and poems.



THE OXFORD SILVER CROWN OF CHARLES I. ENLARGED.<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas Burghers was in all probability born at Utrecht, his son Michael being the celebrated line-engraver referred to by Horace Walpole. He was employed as an engraver at the Oxford mint during the siege of that city, though the only work of importance which can be attributed to him is a well-engraved medal commemorating the attempted release of Charles I., on which appears, upon the reverse beneath the equestrian figure of the King, NI·BVRGHE · SCVLP.

Upon the surrender of Oxford, the anxiety of the Commons to possess themselves of everything belonging to the mint appears to

<sup>1</sup> This illustration is enlarged from the *Catalogue* of the Montagu Sale, 1896, Lot 530, by the courtesy of Messrs. Sotheby.

have been greatly excited; for, on the 14th of July, they ordered that "it be referred to Sir Robert Harley, Mr. Myles Corbet, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Lawrence Whittaker, to examine and search the trunks lately come from Oxford; wherein, they were informed, were many instruments and other materials and things belonging to the mint, or fit to be made use of in the coinage of money: and to seize all such instruments and materials, and report them to the house, to be disposed of as they should think fit."<sup>1</sup>

## OXFORD GOLD COINS, 1642-1646.

## HALF-UNITES.

1642.

- I. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX .  
No mint-mark. Crowned and armoured bust of the King to left, wearing a falling lace collar; •X• behind.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI :  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, in three lines. Three plumes  
above, and the date, 1642, beneath. Plate I, 1.

- II. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX.  
Mint-mark a plume. Crowned bust of the King, armoured, to left, wearing a falling lace collar; •X• behind; all within a dotted circle.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI :  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

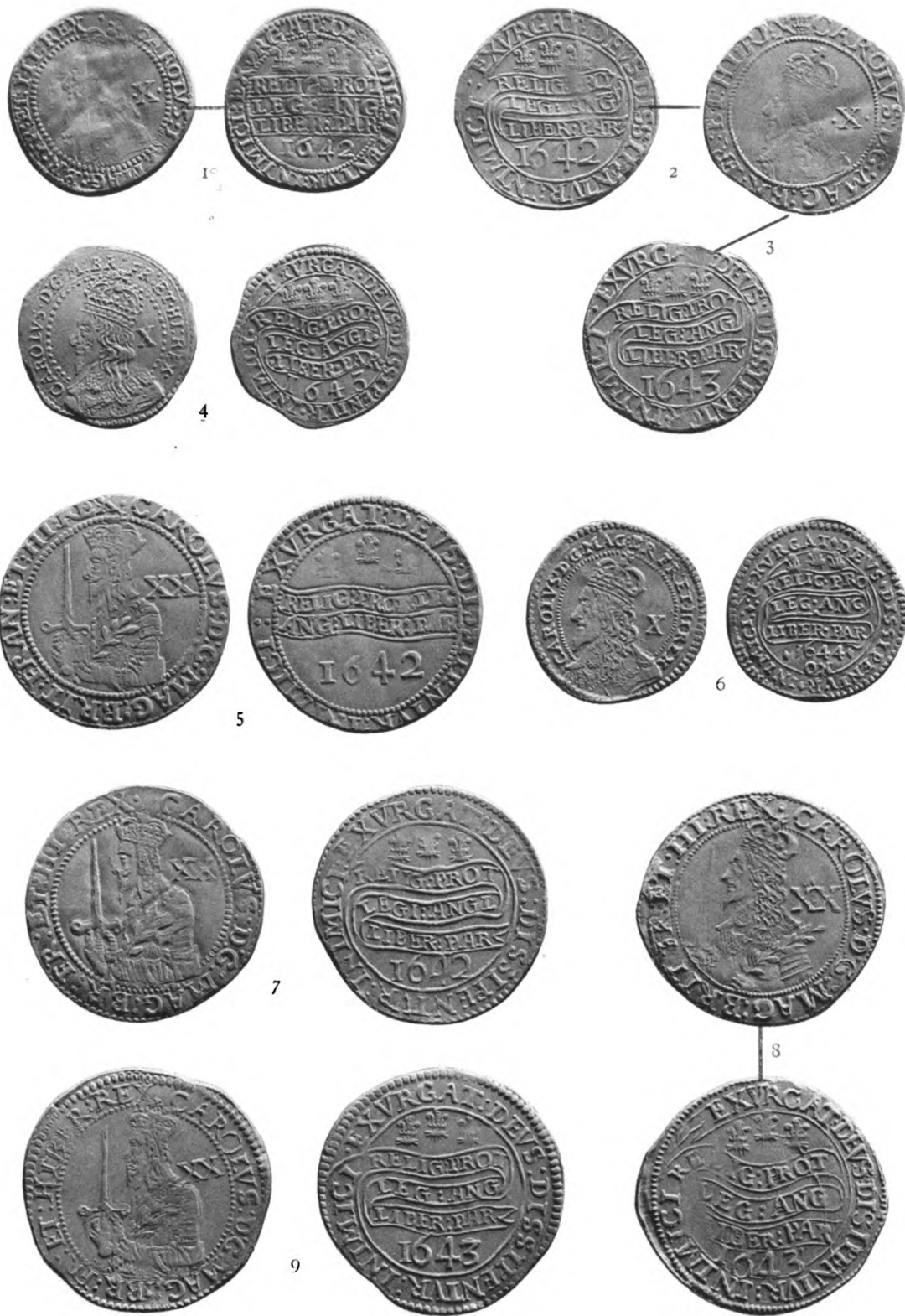
LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll.  
Three plumes above, and the date, 1642, below.  
Plate I, 2.

1643.

- I. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX.  
Mint-mark a plume. Crowned and armoured bust of the King to left, wearing a falling lace collar; •X• behind.

<sup>1</sup> *Ruding*, vol. i, p. 404.



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THE GOLD COINAGE AT OXFORD OF CHARLES I.

PLATE I.



*Reverse.*— • EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll.  
Three plumes above and 1643 below. Plate I,  
3.

II. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS • D : G : M : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX •  
The legend commencing at the left lower quadrant.  
Large crowned and armoured bust of the King to left,  
wearing a falling lace collar; X behind. The bust  
breaks through the inner circle and reaches the edge of  
the coin.

*Reverse.*— • EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI •  
surrounding :—

RELIG • PROT •

LEG • ANGL •

LIBER • PAR •, all upon a continuous scroll, the  
commencement of which is forked; three  
plumes above, and the date, 1643, beneath.  
Plate I, 4.

1644.

I. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS • D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX.  
Crowned and armoured bust of the King to left, wearing  
a falling lace collar; X behind the head.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT ♦ DEVS ♦ DISSIPENTVR ♦ INIMICI ♦♦  
surrounding :—

RELIG • PRO

LEG : ANG

LIBER • PAR, all upon a continuous scroll.  
Three plumes above, and the date ♦1644♦  
OX  
beneath. Plate I, 6.

UNITES.

1642.

- I. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HI : REX. Half-length figure of the King to left, in armour, wearing crown and plain collar, bearing in the right hand a large sword and in the left an olive branch; XX behind the head.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI : surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT : LEG

ANG : LIBER : PAR, in two wavy lines. Three plumes above, and the date, 1642, below. Plate I, 5.

- II. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX. Half-length figure of the King to left as on the previous coin.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI : surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

LEGI : ANGL

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll. Three plumes above, and the date, 1642, below. Plate I, 7.

1643.

- I. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIBER : REX. Crowned half-length figure of the King to left, holding sword in the right hand and olive branch in the left. The bust breaks the inner circle. XX behind.

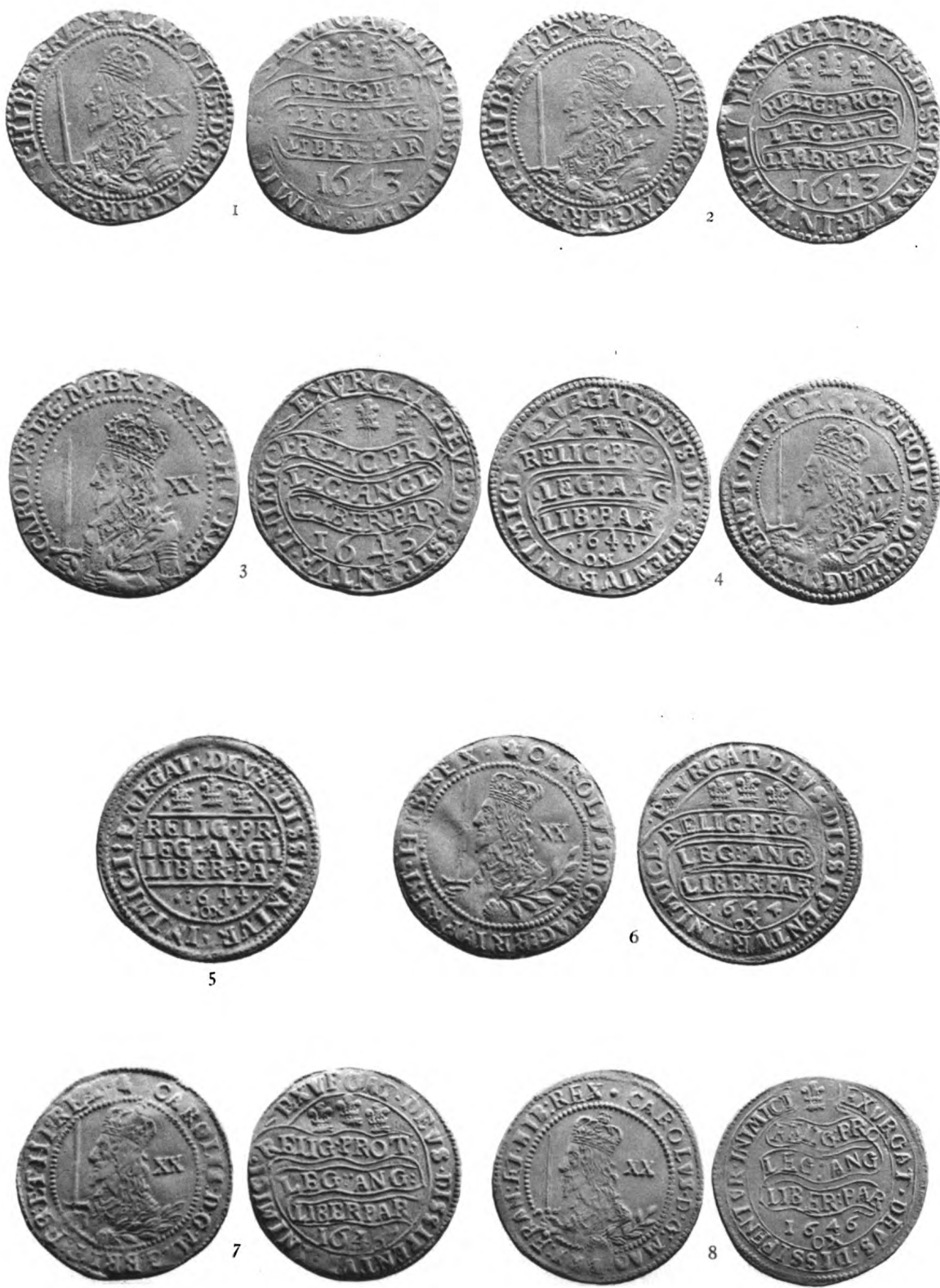
*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll with forked termination. Three plumes above and the date, 1643, beneath. Plate I, 9.

- II. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HI : REX. Crowned bust of the King to left, wearing lace collar, bearing in the right hand a sword and in the left an olive branch. The bust does not break the inner circle. XX behind.



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THE GOLD COINAGE AT OXFORD OF CHARLES I.

PLATE II.





*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISIPENTVR : (*sic*) INIMICI  
surrounding:—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll, the  
beginning of which is forked. Three plumes  
above and the date, 1643, beneath. Plate I, 8.

III. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS : D : G • MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIBER :  
REX. Mint-mark a plume. Crowned and armoured  
bust of the King to left, wearing a lace collar, holding in  
the right hand a sword and in the left an olive branch ;  
XX behind.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI :  
surrounding:—

RELIG : PROT

: LEG : ANG :

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll, the  
commencement of which is forked. Three  
plumes above and the date, 1643, beneath.  
Plate II, 1.

IV. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HIBER  
REX. Mint-mark a plume. Crowned bust as on  
No. III.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI sur-  
rounding:—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll, which  
terminates in a forked end. Above are three  
plumes and beneath is the date, 1643. Plate  
II, 2.

V. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS • D : G : M : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX •  
Crowned and armoured bust of the King to left, wearing  
a deep lace collar, bearing in the right hand an upright  
sword and in the left an olive branch. The bust  
descends to the edge of the coin and the legend begins  
at the left lower quadrant.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI •  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

• LEG : ANGL :

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll.  
Three plumes above, and the date, 1643,  
beneath. Plate II, 3.

1644.

I. *Obverse.*—♦ CAROLVS ♦ D ♦ G ♦ MAG ♦ BR ♦ FR ♦ ET ♦ HI ♦  
REX ♦. Mint-mark a plume. Crowned and armoured  
bust of the King to left, holding in the right hand a  
sword and in the left an olive branch ; XX behind.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT ♦ DEVS ♦ DISSIPENTVR ♦ INIMICI ♦  
surrounding :—

RELIG ♦ PRO ♦

♦ LEG ♦ ANG ♦

LIB ♦ PAR ♦, all upon a continuous scroll. Above  
are three plumes and beneath ♦ 1644 ♦ Plate  
OX II, 4.

II. *Obverse.*—As No. I.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT ♦ DEVS ♦ DISSIPENTVR ♦ INIMICI ♦  
surrounding :—

RELIG ♦ PR ♦

LEG ♦ ANGL

LIBER ♦ PA ♦, in three lines within a compart-  
ment. Above are three plumes, with a lozenge  
on either side, and beneath is ♦ 1644 ♦ Plate  
OX II, obverse, of 4, reverse, 5.

III. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS • D : G : MAG : BRI : FR : ET • HIB :  
REX • Mint-mark a plume. Crowned bust of the King  
to left, bearing a sword in the right hand and an olive  
branch in the left ; a small XX behind ; the whole  
within a dotted circle.

*Reverse.*— • EXVRGAT DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI •  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT :

LEG :• ANG :

LIBER : PAR :, all upon a continuous scroll.

Above are three plumes, and beneath the date,

<sup>1644</sup>  
OX Plate II, 6.

1645.

I. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET • HI :  
REX • Mint-mark a plume. Crowned bust of the  
King to left, wearing a lace collar, bearing a sword in  
the right hand and an olive branch in the left; XX  
behind; all within the inner circle.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI •  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT :

LEG :• ANG :

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll.

Above are three plumes, and the date, 1645,  
beneath. Plate II, 7.

II. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS • D : G : MAG : BRI : FRAN : ET • HIB :  
REX • Mint-mark a plume. Crowned bust of the  
King to left, wearing lace collar, bearing in the right  
hand a sword and in the left an olive branch; XX  
behind. The bust breaks through the inner circle.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI sur-  
rounding :—

RELIG : PRO :

LEG : ANG :

LIBER : PAR :, all upon a continuous scroll.

Above is a single plume and beneath is  
the date, <sup>1645</sup>  
OX

1646.

*Obverse.*—CAROLVS • D : G : MAG : BRI : FRAN : ET • HIB :  
REX • Crowned bust of the King to left, bearing in the  
right hand a sword and in the left an olive branch; XX  
behind. The King's two hands break through the inner  
circle.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI surrounding:—

RELIG : PRO

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll. A

plume above, and the date, <sup>1646</sup> OX beneath.

Plate II, 8.

### TREBLE UNITES.

1642.

I. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX. Mint-mark a plume. Crowned half-length figure of the King to left, holding a sword in the right hand and an olive branch in the left. The figure touches the inner circle.

*Reverse.*—••• EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI : surrounding:—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, in three wavy lines. •III• and three plumes above, and the date, 1642, beneath. Plate III, 1.

IA. *Obverse and Reverse.*—As No. I, but the reverse reads:—

•• EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI. Plate III, 2.

II. *Obverse.*—CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HI : REX. Mint-mark a plume. Half-length figure of the King as on the previous coin, but somewhat smaller and it does not touch the inner circle. A plume behind the head.

*Reverse.*—• EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI surrounding:—

RELIG : PROT

LEGI : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll. Three plumes and •III• above, and the date, 1642, beneath. Plate III, 3, 4.



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THE GOLD COINAGE AT OXFORD OF CHARLES I.

PLATE III



1643.

I. *Obverse*.—As 1642, No. II.*Reverse*.—As 1642, No. II, but LEG : and date 1643. Plate III, 3, 5.

II. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS • D : G • MAGN : BRIT : FRAN : ET :  
 HIB : REX •. Mint-mark a plume. Large half-length figure of the King to left, bearing in the right hand a sword and in the left an olive branch ; behind the head is a small plume.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI : surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT

: LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all upon a continuous scroll, which is forked at the commencement. Three plumes and III above, and the date, 1643, beneath. Plate III, 6.

IIA. *Obverse*.—As No. II.

*Reverse*.—As No. II, but reading EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI : surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT :

: LEG : ANG :

LIBER : PAR Plate III, 7.

III. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS : D : G : MAGN : BRIT : FR : ET : HI :  
 REX. Mint-mark a plume. Large crowned half-length figure of the King to left, wearing a floating scarf, holding in the right hand a sword and an olive branch in the left, which breaks the inner circle. Behind is a plume.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT : DEVS : ET : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI : surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT :

LEG :: ANGL :

LIBER : PAR•, in three lines, all upon a continuous scroll. Three plumes and •III• above, and the date, 1643, beneath. Plate III, 8.

IV. *Obverse*.—As No. III.



*Reverse.*—As No. III, but EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR :  
INIMICI : and :—

RELIG : PROT

LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR, all in smaller lettering, and the  
enclosed scroll is not so curved. Plate III, 9.

V. *Obverse.*—As No. II.

*Reverse.*—As No. III, but EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR :  
INIMICI ::

RELIG : PROT

: LEG : ANG

LIBER : PAR. The enclosed scroll is not so  
curved. Plate III, obverse of 6 and 7; Plate  
IV, reverse of 1.



GOLD TREBLE-UNITE OF THE OXFORD MINT OF CHARLES I.

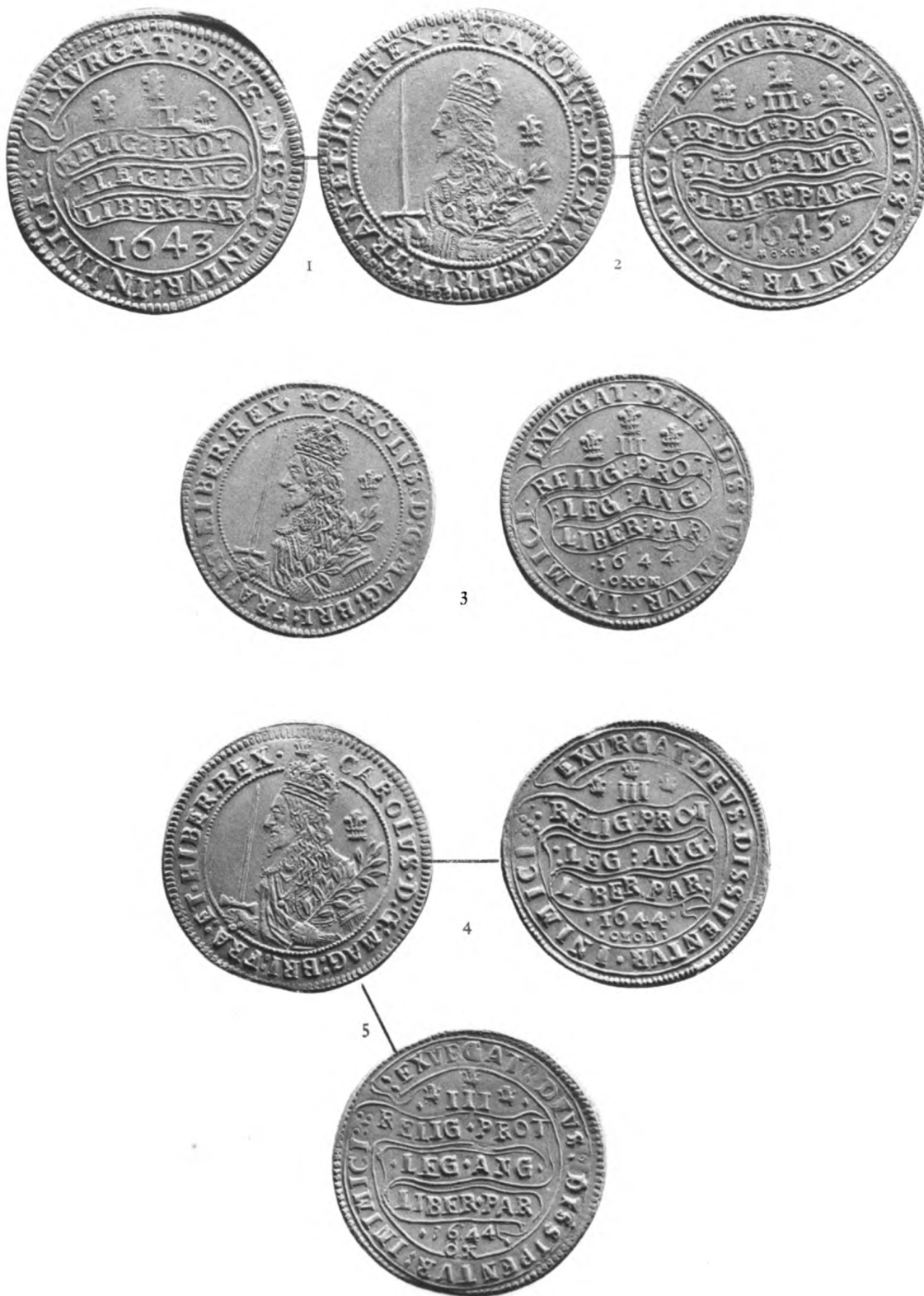
VI. *Obverse.*—As No. II.

*Reverse.*—EXVRGAT : DEVS : DISSIPENTVR : INIMICI :  
surrounding :—

RELIG : PROT ::

: LEG : ANG :

• LIBER : PAR •, all upon a continuous scroll  
forked at each end. Three plumes and III  
above, with a rosette on either side of the  
numeral. Beneath is the date, 1643, on each  
side of which is a rosette and below is OXON  
in very small capitals, with a rosette on each  
side. Plate IV, 2, and above.



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THE GOLD COINAGE AT OXFORD OF CHARLES I.

PLATE IV.



1644.

I. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS ♦ D ♦ G ♦ MAG ♦ BRI ♦ FRA ♦ ET ♦ HIBER ♦  
 REX ♦ Mint-mark a plume. Half-length figure of  
 the King to left, slightly breaking the inner circle. A  
 plume behind the head.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI • sur-  
 rounding :—

RELIG : PROT :

: LEG : ANG :

LIBER : PAR :, all upon a continuous scroll.

Above are three plumes and III, and beneath

•1644•

•OXON. Plate IV, 3.

II. *Obverse*.—CAROLVS • D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET • HIBER :  
 REX • Mint-mark a plume. Half-length figure of the  
 King to left, very similar to that of No. I, but the arches  
 of the crown break through the inner circle, and the  
 left hand does not.

*Reverse*.—EXVRGAT • DEVS • DISSIPENTVR • INIMICI ::  
 surrounding :—

• • RELIG : PROT

: LEG : ANG :

LIBER • PAR : all upon a continuous scroll.

Above are three plumes and III, and beneath is

the date •1644•

•OXON. Plate IV, 4.

III. *Obverse*.—As No. II.

*Reverse*.—♦ EXVRGAT ♦ DEVS ♦ DISSIPENTVR ♦ INIMICI ::♦  
 surrounding :—

RELIG ♦ PROT

♦ LEG ♦ ANG ♦

LIBER ♦ PAR, all upon a continuous scroll.

Above are three plumes and ♦III♦, and beneath

is the date, ♦1644♦

OX

Plate IV, 5.

This brings the series of gold coins struck at Oxford to a close.  
 I trust, however, at some future date to proceed to the consideration  
 of the series of silver coins issued at the same place during the same  
 period.

In conclusion, I must thank Mr. G. F. Hill, M.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins, in the British Museum, for his kind permission to illustrate the Oxford gold coins in the National Collection; also Messrs. Spink for the use of various examples of the same series in their possession, which are illustrated in this article. My thanks are likewise due to Miss Helen Farquhar for her kind help in the preparation of this paper, her knowledge of the coins of this monarch being unrivalled.

CONTEMPORARY EVIDENCE AGAINST THE ATTRIBUTION OF OBSIDIONAL MONEY TO ISOLATED FORTRESSES IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

By W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.

**B**Y the term obsidional money of Charles I. we mean the money of necessity, or "siege pieces," issued by the beleaguered authorities during the various sieges of the reign, when supplies of the regal currency were cut off. This make-shift money bore but slight resemblance to the latter, for it was roughly made from gold and silver plate, or bullion, in various shapes and sizes bearing merely a device, or inscription, to guarantee its intrinsic value in circulation. The device usually assumed a crude representation of the castle, or gate house of the town, and the inscription generally named the place of issue and the value of the piece.

Such issues in England have been attributed to the sieges of

Carlisle	Scarborough
Colchester	Beeston Castle
Newark	Lathom House
Pontefract	

It has often occurred to me, and I am sure it must have occurred to many who have studied the history of the times, that siege pieces, as money of necessity, could only have been required for circulation within a populated district, and therefore that their issue necessarily implied that the town, as well as the castle responsible for it, was

within the defended lines. Such money was required for purposes of barter and traffic with the merchants and traders within the town, and that is why its purity was always maintained and its intrinsic value certified upon it. The suggestion that it was ever coined within isolated fortresses for the payment of garrisons, shut off from the outside world and its magnetic attractions for disbursement, may be brushed aside, for if anything more was required by a soldier from his own chief than a mere certificate or voucher for his pay, the gold or silver weighed out to him in specie would have been just as useful and acceptable to him as a handful of these discs of metal, which at the most were only legal tender within the confined space of the beleaguered lines—in his case the bare walls of the fortress itself. Hence all the expense and trouble of the preparation of the dies, of the cutting and weighing of the metal, and of the striking and issuing of the money would have been a means without an end, for at the beginning it was pieces of plate, and at the end it remained but pieces of plate.

We will now consider shortly the attribution of the coins with these suggestions in mind. For their full story I would refer to Dr. Nelson's most interesting treatise on "The Obsidional Money of the Great Rebellion"<sup>1</sup> from which I have ventured to select my illustrations and much of my information. It is unfortunate for my purpose that the blocks for the Scarborough issues, and some of the others, were only lent to the Society for illustration of his paper in the second volume of this *Journal*, and, therefore, as will be noticed later, I am obliged to refer to them there.

The following is a brief summary of the siege pieces as at present attributed, and the conditions under which they were issued :—

Carlisle.—The city was besieged from October, 1644, to June, 1645, and the coins bear its name.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 291-357.



FIG. 1.—COLCHESTER HALF-UNITE.

Colchester.—The town was beleaguered from June to August, 1648, and its name occurs on some of the money.



FIG. 2.—NEWARK SHILLING.

Newark.—The town and castle were included in successive sieges in 1645 and 1646, and all the coins bear the name of Newark stamped upon them.



FIG. 3.—REVERSE OF A PONTEFRACT SHILLING.<sup>1</sup>

Pontefract.—Both town and castle shared the siege of six months, which ended on March the 22nd, 1649, and the coins are identified by the initials, P.C., of the castle.

<sup>1</sup> This design is still familiar to us in the "Pontefract," or "Pomfret-cakes" of liquorice, but probably in both cases it was adopted from the corporate seal.



Scarborough.—The siege of 1644–5 enclosed both town and castle, and on some of the coins the name *Scarborough* is engraved.



FIGS. 4, 5, AND 6.—THE ONE-SHILLING-AND-A-PENNY, THE SHILLING, AND THE SEVEN PENCE OF THE SERIES HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO BEESTON CASTLE.

Beeston Castle.—An isolated castle on a hill in Cheshire defended for the King during 1644 and 1645, to which is attributed a large series of coins bearing a device believed to represent the gate-house, but neither name nor initial.

Lathom House.—A great domestic fortress in Lancashire, then of mediæval date, deeply moated and defended by walls two yards thick surrounding a central tower and flanked by towers at the angles, the scene of the famous defence by the Countess of Derby from February the 28th to May the 27th, 1644, and again, by the Earl's Constable from July to December the 6th, 1645.<sup>1</sup> No very definite reason for the attribution of money to Lathom has been offered and neither name nor initial is in evidence.

Of the above list of seven besieged fortresses, five, namely, Carlisle, Colchester, Newark, Pontefract, and Scarborough, included the towns, and in every instance the coins are identified by the names, or initials, of the towns or castles being stamped upon them.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Miss H. Farquhar for this date, gleaned from another *Diary* of the siege.

The remaining two, Beeston Castle and Lathom House, were isolated fortresses and in neither case was there any attempt at name or initial upon the coins attributed to it. This fact alone gives pause to thought, but a little direct evidence is worth much theory.

During the Jacobite Rising of 1745-6 a series of tracts and memoirs of the Carolean Civil Wars relating to Lancashire and Yorkshire were reprinted and dedicated to the "Gentlemen Tradesmen and Others" of these two counties, and amongst them are the Memoirs of James, Earl of Derby, including "A true and genuine account of the famous and memorable siege of Lathom House." The latter is a most graphic diary of the siege and there is a ring about it not unfamiliar to our ears to-day, as for instance—

In about five weeks the enemy finished their new line, and they run a deep trench near to the mote, and there raised a very strong battery, whereon they placed a large mortar piece (sent them from London) from which they cast about fifty stones of fifteen inches diameter into the house ; as also grenadoes of the same size, alias bomb-shells, the first of which falling near the place where the Lady and her children with all the commanders were seated at dinner, shivered all the room but hurt no body.

Presently we are told that a sally was made by the garrison and—

They assaulted the enemy's trenches with so much bravery that, after an hour's sharp dispute, they made themselves masters of all their works, nailed up and overturned all their cannon, and those they found upon carriages they rolled into the mote, and brought the mortar piece into the house ; and continued masters of the enemy's works and trenches all that day.

And so the siege continued intermittently for nearly two years.

P 2

But the passage in the memoirs which immediately concerns us is this—

There was amongst the soldiers [of the garrison] about £50 in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at span counter with; they lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any. One day one soldier had all, and the next another, till at last all their sport was spoiled, the enemy at the gate stripped them of every penny, and turned them out to the wide world. When the house was given up, there were but 209 foot soldiers in it; and of all their horses but five left alive, the rest being all eaten up.

Span counter, also called farthing counter, was a game not unlike the old shovel board for which the crown and half-crown pieces of Edward VI. and Elizabeth were so popular as Shakespeare tells us, and like it was played upon the long oak tables so characteristic of the furniture of the day. The coins were thrown from one end of the table at a mark near the other end, and the throwers of the pieces within a span of the mark—whence the name—divided the rest of the spoil. Shakespeare refers to it in “Henry VI.,” where we read—

Tell the King that for his father's sake, Henry V., in whose time boys went to span counter for French crowns, I am content he shall reign.

If my readers agree with me that the foregoing quotation leaves no room for doubt that the attribution of the coins to Lathom and Beeston is no longer tenable, the question remains—to what place must they now be assigned?

The series hitherto credited to Beeston is considerable and comprises silver pieces stamped with eleven different values, according to weight, varying from sixpence to two shillings. In general design, namely a fortification, with the value stamped below, struck upon a piece of silver roughly trimmed to an irregular square or parallelogram, it closely corresponds with the Scarborough issues. Another feature common to both series is that whereas at other places the money either

conforms in value with the regal issues or represents multiples of the shilling or its fractions the sixpence and ninepence, the so-called Beeston money and the Scarborough issues were cut first, then weighed, and their value stamped upon them according to the haphazard result of the scales. Nothing of the kind occurs elsewhere in England. Dr. Nelson, in his paper, records the following varied denominations, here tabulated for comparison—

Scarborough. "Beeston."				Scarborough. "Beeston."			
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
5	0			1	3	1	3
3	4					1	2
2	10					1	1
2	6			1	0	1	0
2	4						11
2	0	2	0				10
1	9						7
		1	6		6		6
		1	4		4		

It will be noticed that read together the two columns suggest a single rather than a dual issue, for except in the regal denominations of the two-shillings, shilling, and sixpence, there is no duplication save the sole exception of the 1s. 3d. which, like the Newark and Colchester ninepences, is fractional of the regal issues.

There is, however, far stronger evidence of the identity of the two series, namely :—

A peculiarity of the "Beeston" issues is that the Roman numeral "I" is always dotted. To dot the numeral is most unusual, and the only other instance known to me occurs on the Scarborough pieces. Compare our Figs. 4, 5, and 6 of "Beeston" with Dr. Nelson's Fig. 24 of Scarborough, vol. ii of this *Journal*, p. 310.

The numeral and its dot at "Beeston" were cut on the same punch, as evidenced by the fact that on our Figs. 4 and

6 the dot has been stamped over the lower portions of the letters S and D respectively, thus breaking their lines. We notice exactly the same evidence on the Scarborough shilling, Dr. Nelson, Fig. 24.

The same numeral at "Beeston" is always trifurcated at the top—a very remarkable ornamature for the period, and especially for obsidional money. The numeral on the Scarborough shilling, Dr. Nelson, Fig. 24, has the same elaboration.

On the "Beeston" coins the letter "S," for "Shilling," is of curious form, terminating in a fork, or fish-tail. It is inverted on our Fig. 4, and on Dr. Nelson's Figs. 9 and 11, but correct in other cases. The same form of the letter "S" occurs on the Scarborough shillings, Dr. Nelson, Fig. 23, etc.

The punch used for the letter "D," for "Pence," at "Beeston" seems to me to have been the same iron used at Scarborough. The comparison is best shown by Dr. Nelson's Figs. 13 of "Beeston" and 20 of Scarborough. Also the letter "S" on both series is so nearly identical that I think it discloses the work of the same hand.

These many coincidences can have but one meaning, namely, that the "Beeston" siege pieces must be transferred to Scarborough to fill up most of the gaps in the already multifold denominations of that town's series.

The money tentatively attributed to Lathom, see Dr. Nelson's Fig. 35, is of too indefinite a character for me to offer any serious suggestion, save that in shape, workmanship and design it is of Inchquin character. I think that it is certainly Irish.

## “SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKENS OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.”

A NOTE ON LAMPORT OR LANGPORT.

BY HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.

**I**N the *British Numismatic Journal*, volume vii, page 282, and volume x, pages 319 and 323, Mr. William C. Wells, who is usually most careful, has described and assigned to the country parish of Lamport, Northamptonshire, certain tokens issued by John Browning, No. 57, and by John Weech, Nos. 58, 59, 59a and 59b.

I purpose to comment upon the claim put forward on behalf of the Midland county, and to offer some evidence which goes a long way, if not all the way, towards proving that Browning and Weech were in point of fact natives of the borough of Langport in Somersetshire. It will be convenient first to consider the respective place-names, secondly the reasons for the attribution, and lastly the reasons for preferring the Somerset town to the Northampton village.

As regards the name “Lamport,” it is sufficiently clear that this form of pronunciation and spelling was common to both places in the seventeenth century. I also find the west-country Langport written as Lamport in the records of the Plantagenet kings, and in the accounts relating to the suppression of Somerset chantries by Edward VI. A fragment of evidence is also derivable from the Commonwealth navy. The 50-gun ship *Langport*—similar to but smaller than the contemporary vessel *Naseby*—is described as the *Lampoort* on a drawing by

Van de Velde in the Boymans museum at Rotterdam.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is not at all impossible that a visitor to King's Sedgmoor who asked for the Langport road would hear the name spoken to-day in the style of three centuries ago.

I will now turn to such evidence as exists in favour of an attribution of these two tokens to the Northamptonshire parish. Mr. Wells frankly admits that the names of the issuers do not appear in the registers. This fact would seem to suggest caution to the author of a *catalogue raisonné* and to render desirable a search in other directions for proof of residence in the locality. Unfortunately the registers of Langport, Somerset, do not exist for so early a date, and therefore no inference whatever can be drawn from that source, but the inference from the books at Lamport, Northamptonshire, is obviously negative in character unless it can be rebutted by affirmative testimony from other documents. Mr. Wells does not produce any such testimony, and I am able to confirm his silence on that point by the result of my own investigations, which show, at present, that the surnames Browning and Weech were unknown in this part of Northamptonshire. That being so, the Northamptonshire case appears to rest solely upon the circumstance that William Boyne thought the tokens belonged to Lamport, and that the Editor of the second edition of Boyne's work was content to repeat the names in the old list without further enquiry. It is probable, of course, that neither Boyne, nor the Sub-Editor of the Northamptonshire section in 1891, was aware that Lamport was a vernacular form of Langport.

So much by way of criticism. I will in conclusion try to show good cause why John Browning and John Weech should be restored to their Somersetshire home, as I contend, whether the same be called Langport or Lamport. In default of any aid from the parish registers, the entries in which do not begin until about 1715, I will cite a few extracts from the Public Records and the municipal archives, as proof that two families bearing the respective patronymics appearing on the tokens were associated for a long period with the old town which overlooks the moors of mid-Somerset.

<sup>1</sup> *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. iv, parts 4 and 5.

The following names are those of Langport taxpayers at various dates, and the first figures represent the amounts of the assessments, the second the amounts which were received by the Exchequer<sup>1</sup>—

39 Elizabeth, 1596–97.  
 Thomas Weetch *in bonis* £3.....8<sup>s</sup>.  
 Thomas Browning „ £3.....8<sup>s</sup>.  
 13 Charles II., 1661–62.  
 John Weech *in bonis* £3.....16<sup>s</sup>.  
 15 Charles II., 1663–64.  
 John Weech *in bonis* £3.....16<sup>s</sup>.

When James I. granted a charter of incorporation to Langport in 1617 the name of Richard Browning was included in the first list of capital burgesses. In the year 1651 litigation had arisen concerning the two bridges over the river Parrett, and among the witnesses was John Weech, the elder, of Langport Estover, tailor, then aged 50 years or thereabouts.<sup>2</sup> In 1678 John Weech was portreeve, that is, bailiff or chief magistrate. In 1699 William Browning filled the same office, being succeeded in 1710 by Joseph Browning.

Among the signatories of the Association Oath roll in 1696 were John Michell, William Browning and John Bush.<sup>3</sup> The first named of these burgesses was portreeve in 1667, when his initials were placed upon the town-piece of that year. William Browning was probably a son of John, the issuer of the token. The last named of the three men who swore fidelity to William III. had a strange career. John Bush had been vicar of Langport until 1662 when he was dispossessed under the Act of Uniformity. He married Mary Alsop, the daughter of a mercer in the town, and his token presumably denotes that he carried on a similar trade after his withdrawal from the vicarage.

An excellent history of *Langport and its church* was published in 1911 by the present vicar, the Rev. D. M. Ross, in which the families

<sup>1</sup> Lay subsidy rolls 171/322, 172/423, 172/426.

<sup>2</sup> Exch. Sp. Coms. 1651, Easter, Somerset 7.

<sup>3</sup> Petty Bag Office, 233.



of Browning and Weech are frequently mentioned among the townsmen of the seventeenth century, and I am indebted to Mr. Ross's kind help for the following additional notes derived from Langport church books, other than the parish register.

Churchwardens' accounts, 1581 and 1618—

Payed to John Brownyng for tylyng, xi<sup>s</sup> viii<sup>d</sup>.

To Richard Browninge for 2 sacks of lime, ii<sup>s</sup>.

Inventory of church goods—

Received of John Browning and Willm Glover old wardins  
in the year of our Lord 162—. <sup>1</sup>

In a rough and tattered note book of Christenings, communicants and excommunicated persons—

1619. Nov. 4. John Hollway weddo (widower) and Jone  
d. of Wallter Browne.

1619. Sept. 6. Wyllyam the sonne of John Browne.

I notice that Dr. Williamson's edition of *Boyne*, 1891, includes, in the Somerset section of that work, the token of John Weech, No. 177, a fact which might well have prompted some enquiries at Langport before the item was attributed for the third time to a Northamptonshire parish.

The wills or administration bonds of these two issuers are not in the Probate Court at Taunton, although both of the surnames occur in the calendar at various dates. It is probable that they will be found at the city of Wells, the probate records of which I have not yet searched with this end in view.

<sup>1</sup> The last numeral is illegible.





CROKER'S MEDALLION OF ANNE, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

DIAMETER, SIX INCHES AND SEVEN-EIGHTHS.

## PORTRAITURE OF OUR STUART MONARCHS ON THEIR COINS AND MEDALS.

PART VII. ANNE.—*continued.*

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

**I**N our last volume we gave our consideration to the merits of Queen Anne's chief-graver, John Croker, principally as a medallist, and I was permitted to promise, on the resumption of my article, that I would turn my attention to the coinage. May I, however, first exercise my privilege in saying a few words respecting the Queen's seals?

I have several times alluded to the Alchorne manuscripts in the British Museum, and to one of these I must return, for amongst some drawings included at the end of one folio<sup>1</sup> and fairly attributable to Croker, although not annotated by Newton nor by either of his colleagues, we find two very graceful sketches evidently intended as suggestions for a contemplated second great-seal and counter-seal of Anne.<sup>2</sup> These drawings more nearly resemble the Queen and are also more artistic, being less crowded, than the seal and counter-seal which were chosen on the Union to supersede Anne's original great-seal, the work of Harris. The Union seal was executed by Roos, in whose province it lay to

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,757, f. 37.

<sup>2</sup> The seal as designed by Croker bears a throned figure, but not the same as that already executed by Harris, being much simpler and turned slightly to the left; the pose of the head is more graceful, and the whole presents a better portrait of the Queen. Croker's counter-seal shows Anne herself as Britannia, also in a smaller size, more completely draped, and with the hand holding the spear at a better angle. The likeness was lost in the reproduction on the matrix.

engrave the design, whether the original conception thereof was his own or based upon that suggested by Croker and elaborated by himself.<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately the symbol of the seated Britannia was adopted for the counter-seal, poor substitute for Croker's sketch although it be, but for the obverse, with less wisdom, almost a reproduction of Harris's throned figure was selected. We notice in an anonymous memorial concerning the early coinage of George I. in 1715, that an objection was raised against Croker on the plea that he was "not an Engraver but a Jeweller, and therefore not used to Engrave Seals," the result being "that for the Seal Engraving another King's Engraver was appointed and by another since continued and the salary retracted and instead of one there are now two King's Engravers, of both which none could do the work of Engraving in general."<sup>2</sup> We must, therefore, attribute the execution, if not the design, of the workmanship to Roos, and may congratulate him upon the counter-seal,<sup>3</sup> the new and simpler effigy of Anne as Britannia showing great superiority over the clumsy equestrian portrait by Henry Harris on the counter-seal of the Queen's accession, which had remained in use from November 11th, 1702, until May, 1707.

According to custom the seal of William was not immediately discarded, but Wyon supplies an extract, under date November 11th, 1702, from the *Privy Council Records*, as follows: "Present, the Queen's most Excellent Majesty in Council; Great Seal new made, Old one Broken."<sup>4</sup> It is possible that one Thomas Silvester may have

<sup>1</sup> See Wyon's *Great Seals*, Plate lxliii, p. 116. John Roos was recommended, as we have seen, for the post of Seal-Engraver in 1704, see our vol. x, p. 257, and I find from the *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cc, No. 17, that he is spoken of as "His Majesty's late Chief Engraver of Publick Seals," in 1716. See also *Wyon*, p. 190, where it is stated that reference is made in February, 1719, to James Gerrard in this office. *The Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, p. 279, prints Gerrard's name from 1721 to 1726, and he was followed by John Rolles in 1727. The name of the latter appears as Deputy Engraver at the Mint in the beginning of that year, see Chamberlayne's *State of Great Britain*, but as we have seen in our last volume, p. 259, he relinquished numismatic work for seal engraving, and Chamberlayne gives no deputy engraver in his next volume.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cxcii, No. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Wyon's *Great Seals*, Plate lxlii, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Wyon*, p. 141, Appendix A, Extract H.

collaborated with Harris, for according to the *Treasury Papers* he was his "Assistant by Constitution of ye Treasury."<sup>1</sup>

Anne's order, under date August 13th, 1702, for this great seal, was naturally issued as was usual to "Henry Harris, our chief Engraver of our Seales." On November 2nd, followed warrants for various minor seals such as those for the Court of Common Pleas, Queen's Bench, Court of the Exchequer and Privy Seal. Finally, on November 3rd, "stamps" were commanded for the Queen's private use, the one engraved Anne R. the other with initials, A.R. only.<sup>2</sup>

Engraving a great seal was lucrative, the charge made by the engraver generally reaching about £200 exclusive of the silver required for the purpose.<sup>3</sup>

The second seal of Anne was used until that of George I. was ready on June 17th, 1715,<sup>4</sup> although the Queen died on August 1st, 1714. The great seal of George, which is not very graceful and is not equal to its predecessor, albeit differing little in technique, must, however, be attributed to the same artist, for this is made clear by references to past work, in the bills of Roos, presented for seal-engraving and similar offices performed for George, and partially discharged in 1716. The amount includes a claim of £200 for the English example, and one of the same sum for the great seal of

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiii, No. 83 "Short List of Mint Officers" reading: "Sir John Stanley Warden by Pattent, John Ellis Esqre Controller, George Evans Esqre Surveyor of ye Melting and Clerk of the Irons by Pattent for Life and the Reversion to his son. . . . Is. Newton Esqre Master and Worker, John Braint Engineer, Provost of the Moneyers by his Majesties Warrant. Henry Harris Engraver by Pattent, Thomas Silvester his Assistant by Constitution of ye Treasury." The list is undated but was probably submitted to Anne on her accession, as it agrees in essentials with that in Chamberlayne's *State of England*, 1702.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, Entry Book, No. 350, p. 260, and pp. 284-6, and *Ibid.*, No. 352, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> See Simon's charge of £200 12s. 6d., plus £29 2s. 1d. for the silver, Vertue's *Simon's Medals, Coins*, etc., Appendix V, p. 86. A similar sum of £400 was claimed by John Roettier for two great seals in 1684, see *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. iii, p. 173, and by Roos in 1716, £200 being charged for the work and £30 1s. 1d. for the materials.

<sup>4</sup> *Wyon*, Plate xlv, and p. 116.

Ireland,<sup>1</sup> besides lesser charges from about £10 to £60 for departmental and privy seals, reaching a total of £788 15s. 8½d. The English Treasury referred the cost of the great and privy seals for Ireland to the Sister Isle, but acknowledged the bulk of the liabilities upon receiving a report from the English Mint officers that the "Prices sett downe" for the items were "the Same with those allowed to the said Mr. Roos for the like Seals Engraved in her late Majesty's Reign, and with those paid to his predecessor Mr. Harris, and to Mr. East, Engraver to his Majesty King James."<sup>2</sup> The account is rendered in the name of Roos, who must, we suppose, have been retiring from office, but for no fault, inasmuch as his superiors, whilst noting that the work is good and that he deserves the money claimed, speak of him as "His Majesty's late Engraver of Publick Seals." He must have survived July 30th, 1717, when he received this part payment, but cannot have lived many more years, inasmuch as on July 3rd, 1720,<sup>3</sup> it was his widow who successfully claimed the balance of £236 18s. 10d., their Lordships being then informed by Newton that the whole liability belonged to the English Exchequer, because the Irish seals "were ordered and made here and have formerly been paid for here, as appears to us by an order of the Treasury dated September 6th, 1711, and some seals since made for Ireland have already been paid for here."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cc, No. 17. The charge for the silver of the Irish seals is rather less than the above, being £26 18s. 10d. The type of George I.'s Irish great seal resembles the English with the addition of harps in the field. We observe that there is no charge for a Scottish seal, but after the Union we shall see that a special seal was only used in Scotland for certain purposes, and that made for George I. is dated 1717—it may not therefore have come into the scope of Roos's employment and would not in any case be included in this bill.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cc, No. 17, minuted "30th July 1717, ordered, excepting the charge for the Great Seal and Privy Seal of Ireland which my Lords think proper to be paid by the Kingdom of Ireland."

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. ccxxviii, 19a. The widow's petition is undated, but was referred to the Mint Officials on May 5th, 1720, and the report thereon minuted "To be pd here," is of July 3rd, following.

<sup>4</sup> I have been unable to discover whether Anne's second Irish seal, which—as appears from the above—was not paid for until after September 6th, 1711, received any material alteration beyond that in the arms necessitated by the Union. The graver would probably follow the usual custom of copying the English type with the addition of crowned harps in the field of the obverse and reverse.



THE ROSENHEIM PLAQUE.

DIAMETER, SIX INCHES AND SEVEN-EIGHTHS.





Newton prudently remarks that "Gravers may hereafter prove unwilling to make seals for Ireland if they must be sent thither for their money."

At the moment of the Union a decorative and ornate style of dress is observable on Anne's medals, and to this period, therefore, we may with the greatest probability attribute the largest portrait executed by Croker, a medallion which is cast in bronze, and is  $6\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter. It is illustrated as our frontispiece, and must now be discussed, for it bears on the work of the seal-engravers of this period, although not itself designed by one, nor very probably for such a purpose. So strong is the resemblance to John Croker's large medal, classed by Van Loon<sup>1</sup> to the Accession and by other authors to the Union, that we cannot hesitate as to its attribution to this engraver.<sup>2</sup>

This medallion, in fairly high relief, brings Anne before us almost exactly as Kneller sketched her in the oil painting which we reproduced as a frontispiece<sup>3</sup> in the last section of this article, and is perhaps the best piece of work that Croker ever produced. Some time after the acquisition of this bronze by the British Museum, the late Mr. Max Rosenheim presented to the National Collection a companion medallion, also cast, which I am permitted to reproduce on our plate facing page 222, and which for reasons of measurement and subject should, he thought, be the reverse of the medal, but the difference in workmanship is so great that I venture to ask whether the two can be considered as the work of one artist? Neither did Mr. Rosenheim insist upon this point, for as we have seen, when studying medals in our last volume, it was by no means unusual to combine the efforts of John Croker and Samuel Bull, and in this instance it would be possible

<sup>1</sup> *Van Loon*, vol. iv, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 298, No. 115, illustrated in our last volume, see pp. 264-65 of vol. x, 1st series, *British Numismatic Journal*. The design was authorized by Newton, for sale by the engraver in anticipation of the Union, on February 20th, 1706-7, see *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 18,757.

<sup>3</sup> Portrait in the collection of the Duke of Portland. But for the fact that the head in Kneller's portrait has an upward turn, Croker has in the plaque more accurately reproduced it than the mezzotint discussed on p. 209 of our last volume, for Croker has copied the tucker omitted by I. Simon, the engraver of the print.

that one or other of Croker's colleagues collaborated with him in making a specially large Union medallion, for we have noticed that his reverses were not liked by all. The obverse, certainly made for a medallion, and in no way suggestive of a seal, recalls Croker's technique at its best—precise, rather hard, somewhat conventional, but not ungraceful, and not too redundant, whereas the reverse with its multitude of slightly overcrowded allegorical figures in exceedingly high relief, is more reminiscent of the design of a seal-engraver, aiming at a very deep impression. The first name that occurs to one is therefore that of Roos, the official graver of seals, but the modelling is more akin to that of Samuel Bull, who, as we believe, worked more boldly and massively than the chief-graver, and whose business lay, strictly speaking, in producing reverses for medals and coins. Mr. Rosenheim's gift is both bold and fine in its sense of depth, being more highly modelled than Croker's plaque, but not so minutely finished.

But lacking further evidence, although I was, and indeed am still, inclined to suggest an attribution to Bull, I cannot press this point, for signed specimens from his hand are not sufficient in number to establish his method definitely. We may, however, note that his Union medal<sup>1</sup> is in high relief, and his employment in occasionally making obverses for coins, usually the exclusive privilege of the chief graver of the period, points to his proficiency. The work of Le Clerc<sup>2</sup> need hardly be taken into consideration, for judging from his signed thaler made at Basle, *circa* 1685, he would not have been equal to so massive a production. The claims of Roos, the engraver of Anne's second great seal, should be more carefully weighed, for his handiwork is, as we have seen, graceful and well executed, and his signet made for the Union is specially satisfactory, but the reverse of the great seal is by comparison not quite equal to Croker's original design,<sup>3</sup> if we are right in assuming the drawing in Alchorne's manuscript book of this

<sup>1</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 296, No. 111, illustrated on p. 260 of our last volume.

<sup>2</sup> Readers of our last volume will remember that Gabriel Le Clerc was made assistant graver to the mint on April 7th, 1705. See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 257–8.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, p. 219.



MR. LAWRENCE'S MEDALLIONS, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

DIAMETER, SEVEN INCHES.



counter-seal to be Croker's rather than his own. Neither does the great seal, which we have shown that he executed for George, establish his proficiency, for in anatomy it falls short of the required standard. But we should not lay too much stress on observations made from worn wax impressions, although we may perhaps venture to criticize the design.

So far had I proceeded in my investigations, when by a curious coincidence, Mr. L. A. Lawrence kindly lent me, in 1913, for study, a recent acquisition consisting of a pair of gilt leaden medallions which he believes to be struck on a cast flan. As will be seen from our illustration facing page 224, the more ornate of the two almost exactly resembles the Rosenheim presentation, although rather larger, and yet not quite so deeply moulded and with some slight simplification of design. Upon these plaques, which were in the following year presented by the Arts Collection Fund to the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> the letters of the legend are incuse instead of in relief, and although the drapery in the background is omitted, one of them is almost a replica of the Rosenheim piece. The companion plaque appeared to indicate a clue, for it is still more suggestive of a design for a great seal than is the group of allegorical figures, presenting as it does a shield with supporters, the usual obverse of the Scottish great seal.<sup>2</sup> The armorial bearings are those in use in England after the Union, surmounted by a crown and supported by the lion and unicorn, whilst St. George and St. Andrew above join hands in amity, and the words beneath, *Semper Eadem*, Anne's motto, recall the last Scottish great seal<sup>3</sup> and the medals and jettons commemorating this event. The

<sup>1</sup> These medallions are now in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and I have been permitted to illustrate them. The actual measurement is 7 inches in diameter.

<sup>2</sup> The Scottish great seals from the time when James I. succeeded to the English throne until the Union may be found in James Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum & Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*. The Scottish Arms, surrounded by a legend, setting forth the King's titles, and an effigy of the monarch with an appropriate motto, together with a date, decorate the two sides. Authors differ in describing as obverse and reverse the two sides of the seal, but on the whole it is clearer to speak of that bearing the titles as the obverse.

<sup>3</sup> *Selectus Diplomatum* as above, Plate xciv, dated 1704.

arrangement of the design, especially the decoration in the exergue, leaving no doubt that these medallions must be a pair, I turned my



MEDAL ON THE UNION. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 297, NO. 114.

attention to the possibility of finding them in the "Seal for Scotland" of Anne, although the fact that the supporters are not reversed, the lion taking the dexter side, militated against this idea.<sup>1</sup> On the Union it had been ordered that in Scotland, in future, the great seal of the United Kingdom, which, as we have seen, was decorated with the seated Britannia by Roos, should be affixed in public matters, but a new seal, "in place of the great seal formerly in use there," was to be employed "for the authentication of all Crown writs relating to lands or offices in Scotland."<sup>2</sup> The only chance of seeing such a seal would be upon private documents, and curiously enough, owing to the nature of the wax used in the reign of Anne, I understand that such specimens as exist are rarely decipherable. The enquiries I made in Museums<sup>3</sup> and Record Offices both in London and Edinburgh were met with the greatest courtesy, but without resulting in the discovery of this special seal,<sup>3</sup> and finally, by the kindness of Mr. W. R. Macdonald, a great

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of Mr. W. R. Macdonald, I am informed that on every one of the Scottish great seals from 1603 to the present time, with the exception of that of Oliver Cromwell and the obverse of George V's., the unicorn supporter takes the dexter side, the collar of the thistle is nearest to the coat-of-arms, and the lion rampant of Scotland occupies the first position on the shield.

<sup>2</sup> See *Guide to the Public Records of Scotland*, by M. Livingston, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> During my search for large seals, I was courteously welcomed in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, possessed of a fine collection of sulphur casts, originally in the Way Collection, and presented to the Society in 1875, to be later supplemented by additional specimens. Amongst the casts I found not only a copy of the Rosenheim but also copies of the Lawrence medallions. The words "Ireland" and "Sudbury Museum," written on the cards on which they are mounted, probably indicated the original owners of the casts or the locality of provenance, but enquiries at the Museums of various Sudburys produced no corroborative evidence, and there is no indication of Irish type in the medallions.

authority on Scottish seals, I find that the equestrian figure as portrayed in Anderson's *Diplomatium*, Plate xcix, was continued in use in cases as above specified, when the United Kingdom seal was not employed, he having found fragments of it upon charters of February 13th, 1710, and July 27th, 1713,<sup>1</sup> whilst Mr. Cleland Harvey has since discovered it on an early charter of George I.

We may therefore rest assured that we have in the plaques no seal impressions proper, but we may be permitted to wonder whether they are the rejected designs made by Bull or Roos for this purpose. It is possible that Croker and others competed in drawing emblematical groups for the purpose of making the English great seal, and the rendering by Roos of a seated Britannia being chosen, the more crowded design was again presented for the Scottish seal as a suitable reverse in combination with the obverse of royal arms—or was merely used for decorative purposes. The production of a finished model for a seal in some material more durable than wax is by no means unusual; for beautiful examples, carved in relief in boxwood, may be seen in the Mediæval Room of the British Museum of the great seals both of George II. and George III. We must, moreover, bear in mind that, owing to the difficulties of hardening the dies, so large a composition can only be brought to perfection in hard metal by casting—witness the enormous expenses incurred by Pistrucci's endeavour, more than a century later, to strike a Waterloo medal, little over five and a quarter inches in diameter. Impressions in gutta-percha and electrotypes only resulted from an expenditure of £2,400.<sup>2</sup>

It is therefore very likely that, before committing the extravagance

<sup>1</sup> I understand from Mr. Macdonald that these seals are in very bad condition; and, unfortunately, Mr. Cleland Harvey, writing in the *Scottish Historical Review* in October, 1913, makes the same remark concerning the seal on a charter at Yester of the year 1714. But in this case the seal is entire and proves that the contemplated change was not made, the old seal continuing in use until after Anne's demise. The document which Mr. Cleland Harvey discovered in the Tweeddale charter room is a grant made by George I. to Charles, Marquis of Tweeddale, of the office of Sheriff of Haddington, on November 16th, 1714, to which is appended the well-known seal of Queen Anne, *Diplomatium*, xcix. See *Scottish Historical Review*, October, 1913, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> See *Royal Mint Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 207–210.



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of making a large metal matrix, the seal engraver would make a cast in bronze from a wax sketch to submit to his patrons, and it is even possible that he would make a mould from which impressions might be taken in soft metal or wax. But we have found no dies from which the examples under discussion could have been struck, and personally, giving my opinion for what it is worth, I believe them to be casts, fortunately preserving for us the artist's rejected ideas for a seal, or more likely the designs for the centres of a pair of commemorative salvers, for presentation at the time of the Union.

No doubt the fine head of Anne by Croker in the Museum was intended to serve the purpose of a uniface decorative plaque only, and with equal probability we may hold that the Rosenheim example may also have been made in the same way as a "*pièce de plaisir*" by one of his colleagues and may have been afterwards subjected to some slight alteration—of lesser relief and simplification of detail, if the artist were desirous of producing the matrix for a counter-seal, and he might then also supply for the seal an arrangement of Post-Union arms. If this were the case we might, perhaps, find in the gilt lead specimens the trial pieces resulting from his effort.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst attributing to Croker most of the designs figured in the Alchorne manuscript book,<sup>2</sup> we must remember that the division of labour at the Tower varied at different periods of the engraver's career, but—as at all times in the previous generations—the responsibility was vested in him alone. He appears to have pursued the same method as his predecessors, the Roettier family, in making puncheons for coins from which he engraved his dies by the help of his subordinates; and his detractors accused him—as Thomas Simon had been accused—of being a "puncher" rather than an engraver.<sup>3</sup> This procedure had, however, not prevented Simon from being an expert in seal engraving, but the fact that Croker was a goldsmith and modelled by preference in relief instead of in intaglio was, as we have seen, held to militate against his

<sup>1</sup> If these be models for Scottish seals, they would naturally be rejected in consequence of the mistake in the arms: see p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,757.

<sup>3</sup> *Vertue's MSS.* vol. iii, *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 23,070, f. 79.

employment in this particular. A paper written in the reign of George I., to which I have already had occasion to refer,<sup>1</sup> whilst laying stress upon this matter, reflected also upon the inability displayed by Croker's predecessor Harris to "do the work of the mint." The anonymous critic complains that he, "in the Reign of King William, obtained from the Court, the place of King's Engraver for Seals and mint as usual, but as he could not do the work for ye mint he hired such as would work cheapest for him, to keep the more benefit for himself, which are [*sic*] the present Engraver," namely Croker.<sup>2</sup> Neither does the memorialist spare this latter artist as a maker of coins, for the portrait of George I. calls forth his opprobrium, and he remarks that "the most part of his subjects did never see the original, and the only idea of his S.P." [sacred person] "is what the coins represent them, which being done to disadvantage, gives no satisfaction to the well affected, and creates a contempt by the disaffected." This adverse criticism probably refers to the "Prince-Elector Guinea," so called because the succeeding coins



THE "PRINCE-ELECTOR" GUINEA OF GEORGE I., 1714.

do not bear the foreign titles in full.<sup>3</sup> It is the only issue of 1714, and the bust was altered in the following year, perhaps in consequence of these outspoken remarks.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 220, *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. cxcii, No. 75.

<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that the delegation of such duties was not illegal, for in the draft preserved in the British Museum of Harris's patent as Chief Engraver to Queen Anne, under date June 9th, 1702, it is specified that he is "by himself and his Workmen to make frame & engrave ye Designes & Effegies of ye Images of us," etc., and he is given a free hand to employ his "Assignes" for the purpose. *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759, f. 141.

<sup>3</sup> The letters PR. ET. EL., standing for Princeps et Elector, appeared on this coin; in the subsequent coinage the PR is omitted and in the reign of George III., in 1801, the foreign titles were dropped.

<sup>4</sup> The Order in Council under date January 5th, 1714, "to coin after draughts thereto annexed" is mentioned in a list of warrants in *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759, f. 153,

The object of the unknown writer was to suggest the institution of a school of design—proposing that £200 or £300 should be spent in making “a collection of all sorts of antik and modern medals or impressions thereof, fine prints, antik bas reliefs,” etc. He desired these to be kept at the Tower and recommended that an engraver should be authorized at a suitable salary to collect them, “partly att Paris & at the same time to examine all the methods in use there, . . . and that he should bring up pupils who also might study for some years in the Academy of Drawing and Embossing att Paris.” This plan would he thought, “provide the Mint with an engraver, that is able to produce ye best work both for heads and revers of medals and coin, skild in embossing of wax, as also to do all other work of engraving in steel, silver and stone to excelling.” This memorial was carefully preserved and somewhat ironically endorsed with a note on October 25th, 1715, of the renewed appointment of Croker at £200, and of his two assistants at £80 “dureing pleasure” as before.<sup>1</sup> It is possible we may see in this treasured suggestion the origin of the Mint museum, formed nearly a hundred years later under the direction of the Master, William Wellesley Pole, afterwards Lord Maryborough, who, in 1816, again represented the desirability of preserving specimens of dies, coins and medals.<sup>2</sup> These pieces were placed in show-cases in 1874, and most ably re-catalogued and re-arranged in 1906 by Mr. W. J. Hocking, whose services to numismatics should be gratefully acknowledged by all students.

But however just may have been the critic's remarks on the first coinage of George I., that of Anne is well worthy of notice.

Let us turn, then, to the year 1702 and begin with the warrant<sup>3</sup> under date March 9th, 1701–2 for coining “Gold and Silver with the old

and also a fresh warrant for an “add<sup>l</sup> F.D. to be added to ye Inscription” under date January 10th. The warrant for coining follows under date March 21st, 1714–15.

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xcii, No. 75. This renewal of the patent had been granted by the Treasury Board on the previous September 14th, on the petition of John Croker, “a naturalised foreigner and Samuel Bull.”

<sup>2</sup> See *Royal Mint Museum Catalogue*, by W. J. Hocking, vol. i, p. vi, Introductory Note.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759, f. 153.

dyes until Puncheons and Dyes are made with our Effigies and Arms." A large quantity of bullion being then in the Mint, Newton on the following day receives orders to "proceed to coyne the Gold & Sylver .....which if it should remain uncoyned would be to the Dissatisfaction and hindrance of the Importers."<sup>1</sup> On March 11, Harris is authorized to prepare "all master Puncheons, Letters & Charges" for pieces of gold to the value of £5, £2, £1, and 10s. and for silver coins represented by 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. No smaller denominations are then mentioned and "all Possible Speed" is enjoined.<sup>2</sup> Then follows another warrant, dated May 6th, 1702, directing that on the gold and silver coins the inscription should read: ANNA DEI GRA: on the obverse, and MAG. BR. FR: ET HIBER. REG: 1702, on the reverse.<sup>3</sup> Next appears an order<sup>4</sup> given on the 26th of the same month to the officers of the Mint to attend on the morrow at the Treasury, but the directions they received are not reported, and Isaac Newton was instructed on July 28th following "concerning a Direction from the Earl Marshall for the form of the money<sup>5</sup> to attend Mr. Attorney for his opinion."

The pattern guinea of which we have spoken<sup>6</sup> in our last volume was submitted in June, and the design being unacceptable to the Queen, was amended by a warrant under date June 30th, 1702, substituting a rose for the monogram and adding a "dress below the neck, as the meddals."<sup>7</sup>

From these entries we learn that until midsummer, or even later, the gold, and probably the silver also, continued to bear the effigy of William III. The coins dated 1702 with Anne's portrait are guineas,

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, Entry Book No. 350, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking from the Royal Mint. The majority of Anne's coinage when actually issued read: ANNA. DEI. GRATIA. MAG. BR. FRA. ET. HIB. REG:

<sup>4</sup> *MS. Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xiii, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xiii, p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> Illustrated in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 200. See also *Mint Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking.

half-guineas, and shillings, and a very small number of silver coins may have been struck early in the year, and must have been impressed



HALF GUINEA, 1702.

with William's dies—the total silver coinage to March 24th, 1702–3, being £2,580,<sup>1</sup> of which we know that £1,000 was struck earlier in the month of March, 1702–3, bearing the VIGO provenance mark, and, of course, the portrait of Anne. There were, moreover, shillings, both plain and ornamented with plumes, issued with the Queen's head, in 1702.

We have noticed in our last volume that the large conversion of foreign gold pieces into our own currency under William III. was still in progress at the time of the King's death; and we are not, therefore, surprised to hear from the Royal Mint that £91,301 was coined between March 8th, 1701–2, and the 24th of the same month in 1702–3, of which total the sum of £1,000 owes its issue to January of that year, Anne's portrait having by that time taken its place upon the coins.

<sup>1</sup> I notice that after Anne's death, Newton wrote on August 2nd, 1714, to the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Lord High Treasurer, saying that "the Mint being at a stop for want of authority to proceed with the Dyes and Puncheons last in use untill new ones can be made and large quantities of gold Bullion being in the Mint to be coyned and more Bullion being daily expected, I have hereunto annexed a copy of the Warrant signed by her late Majesty upon the like occasion, and a Draught of a new Warrant suitable to the present occasion, and most humbly 'pray your Grace to lay the matter before the Lords Justices that the Coynage may proceede.'" The warrants are not enclosed, but the letter is of interest as showing the course usually pursued, see *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. clxxx, No 4. Moreover, in a list of warrants amongst the Alchorne MSS., *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759, f. 153B, we read: "3rd Aug. 1714. War. of Privy Council for Coin<sup>g</sup> the Gold & Silver in his Maj<sup>s</sup> Mint with ye Dyes made from the Puncheons of her late Maj<sup>ties</sup> Reign untill new Puncheons of Deys with his Maj<sup>s</sup> Effigies & Arms shall be made." The Order in Council for the new designs follows in January, 1714, and for coining in conformity to it on March 21st.



An order was issued on February 11th, 1702-3, that all the gold bullion sent to the Tower Mint from the capture of the galleons at Vigo should be coined, and as much silver as would make £1,000 sterling. We shall see that no such gold coinage was delivered until May, 1703;<sup>1</sup> and it is, therefore, not a matter of surprise that we find no gold coins dated 1702 bearing the word VIGO, a mark which, by another warrant of the previous day—February 10th—had been commanded upon the coinage: and such portion of the thousand pounds in silver as first saw the light and was recorded by Newton on March 13th, 1702-3,<sup>2</sup> must be sought on the shillings only, for neither do other pieces in the less precious metal bear an earlier date than 1703. The Commissioners of Prizes had informed the Lord Treasurer that when Newton wrote “requiring such



THE VIGO CROWN OF 1703.

a Quantity as was necessary in order to the coining One Thousand Pounds pursuant to my Lord Treasurer's directions, we could not then deliver any Gold to be coined, there being but a small parcell in all brought on shore out of the Mary Man of War, and is not yet condemned by the Court at the Admiralty."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 234, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvi, No. 41, "An account of the Silver delivered into ye Mint at several times," written by Newton on June 16th, 1703.

<sup>3</sup> See *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv, No. 86, February 17th, 1702-3. See also *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, where it is stated that the first bullion melted from the Vigo capture in February, 1702-3, produced 701 lb. 4 oz. 19 dwt. standard silver in eleven ingots, including much of the wrought plate brought in by "the Ranelagh Prize." From 321 lb. 2 oz. 13 dwt. of this silver £1,000 was coined in March, 1702-3, the remaining 380 lb. 2 oz. and 6 dwt. being reserved.



It is apparent that all the gold—of which Newton and the Commissioners of Prizes state that the quantity was not large—was therefore not immediately coined ; but, as we shall see, it formed the greater



THE VIGO SIXPENCE.

part of the subsequent coinage in May, 1703.<sup>1</sup> But far more curious than the postponement of the gold coinage is that of a large mass of the silver—resulting in the fact that about one-half of the coins bearing date 1703 were not really issued until April, 1704.

The history of the Vigo capture is so well known that I need only remind our readers that Louis XIV. of France, expecting a supply of treasure, had arranged with the King of Spain to send twenty ships, under Château Renault, to act as an escort. The English and Dutch combined fleets under Sir George Rooke attacked and captured or destroyed the whole Spanish plate fleet and its French convoy in Vigo harbour on October 12th, 1702, and the date, as the 12th or the 23rd, according to old or new style respectively, appears on a large number of medals by English and foreign artists commemorating the event.<sup>2</sup> The whole treasure of the fleet in plate and bullion was valued at 20,000,000 pieces of eight, and the merchandise at a like sum. Of this, as roughly estimated by some writers, nearly 14,000,000 Spanish

<sup>1</sup> The gold, according to a list prepared on February 26th, 1702-3, consisted of "five pounds weight and all in Pistoles," besides some wrought plate, namely : "Four cocoanut chocolate Cups, garnished with Filigram work in gold with gold Filigram covers," *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv, No. 108. We find, however, amongst the Alchorne MSS., *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 4b and 18b, an official account of the Vigo coinage, and under date May 14th, 1703, we read that the pistoles were melted to the weight of 5 lb. 7 oz. 3 dwt., which "being reduced to standard, produced 5:6:15:09," equalling when coined £267 7s. 9d. This money was delivered to the Commissioners on May 14th, 1703, as we shall see later.

<sup>2</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 235-240, Nos. 17-25.

coins had been already landed, equalling about £3,150,000 of our money, and it is usually said that about half the cargo was lost or burnt in the galleons, which were destroyed in some cases by the enemy rather than surrender them into our hands. According to Oldmixon and Rapin, the Spaniards rescued a fourth part of the merchandise, but the remaining fourth of the entire treasure fell to the captors, and was shared by England with her ally.<sup>1</sup> Oldmixon considered that the booty falling to the combined fleets might be reckoned at "about one million, five hundred thousand pounds sterling, which," as he sapiently remarks, "is more than ever was brought to the publick Account in England or Holland."<sup>2</sup> Burton puts the capture at a lower standard. "Much life was lost," writes this historian, "and much of the precious cargo, but it would appear that the assailants carried off plunder reaching a pecuniary value estimated roundly at half a million sterling, but the loss of the sufferers was estimated at that of the attackers several times over."<sup>3</sup> A more modern historian roughly gives the value of the booty secured at "about £1,000,000."<sup>4</sup> Oldmixon,<sup>5</sup> entering into details, estimates the prizes at "two millions of pieces of eight and five millions in goods," which fell, he tells us, "into the hands of the Confederates"; but as regards the bullion his figures do not help us very considerably, for his account is not borne out by the written and tabulated list made

<sup>1</sup> The names of the ships captured were published by authority in the *London Gazette*, October 16th, No. 3,858, but the amount of the bullion is not given. The account reads: "There has been some Silver taken out of the bottoms of the Galleons that were burnt, which makes it to be believed there may be a good quantity on board those that are taken, at least that they are very rich in other valuables." Of the 17 galleons, 6 were burnt, whilst the English "possessed themselves" of the same number, and the Dutch of 5. Rapin, in his *History of England*, vol. iv, pp. 570-572, gives the names of the ships and a map of the harbour. His account of the capture is careful and clear.

<sup>2</sup> Oldmixon's *History of England, William and Mary to George I.*, p. 292. Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, vol. v, p. 45, ed. 1833, also speaks of much embezzlement.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Burton's *History of Queen Anne*, vol. ii, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *The Political History of England*, vol. ix, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Oldmixon*, p. 292.

out by Newton of the plate sent to be melted by the Commissioners of Prizes.<sup>1</sup> In the Danny account-books, to which I have before referred,<sup>2</sup> the sum set down as passing to the Treasury resulting from prizes between Michaelmas, 1702, and the same date in 1703 is £95,401 8s. 11d. ; but it is, however, obvious that this represents other captures in addition to that of Vigo. The Commissioners, writing on May 29th, 1703, stated that, allowing for certain payments about to be made, or already effected, the residue they had in their hands for distribution amounted to £49,936 8s. 9d., and of this sum they suggested the partition of £30,000, as the Vigo gold could not all "yet be adjusted."<sup>3</sup>

But whatever was the sum realized by the sale of the cargo, we need only deal with the precious metals which are specified by Newton, consisting of some 4,504 lb. 2 oz. of silver<sup>4</sup> and, roughly speaking, about 10 lb. of gold<sup>5</sup> in bullion and plate, of which a portion was sold unmelted, for this was the entire amount sent to the Mint, to form the historic coinage with which we are familiar, and we have seen that it was not the original intention of the Queen to produce so large an output as she found herself compelled to do, namely £12,473 16s. 3d. The story is not without interest, as we piece it together from various manuscript sources.<sup>6</sup> After the receipt of the warrant of February 11th, 1702-3, the mint-master had written to my Lord Treasurer on the 18th about the prize money, suggesting that in order rightly to ascertain the standard and obtain the bullion for "coining one thousand pounds pursuant to my Lord Treasurer's direction," he and

<sup>1</sup> *The Treasury Papers* supply details as to the plate melted and *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, ff. 1 to 9 and 28B, amongst the Alchorne MSS. in the British Museum, comprises a detailed list describing the pieces of plate and their various weights.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 229. This sum represents "the Queen's moiety" only.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxv, No. 164.

<sup>4</sup> "Besides ye altar piece . . . not weighed," ff. 7-8 of Newton's list.

<sup>5</sup> About half the gold was in pistoles, the rest in chains, etc., and refined gilt plate. Of the silver some 890 lb. weight was in plate, the rest in bars and pieces of eight, ff. 21-23.

<sup>6</sup> Newton's account of the bullion in the Alchorne MSS., *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 18,763, is the most useful of these.

his colleagues deemed it to be "for her Majties Service that all the Virgin Silver Cakes and broken silver and so much of the Plate as in the judgment of the Comm<sup>rs</sup> for Prizes is not valuable for its fashion, or as your Lord<sup>p</sup> shall appoint be melted into Ingots in the pressence of one or more Comm<sup>rs</sup> of Prizes and then weighed and assayed."<sup>1</sup>



THE VIGO SHILLING, 1702.

Many articles then rejected would now be of great interest, but sad to relate, this letter is endorsed "Agreed to"; we are, however, glad to know that the Commissioners rescued and exposed for sale<sup>2</sup> certain fine things. We are informed of this course by a document, dated February 17th, following a letter of January 28th, requesting that the Lord High Treasurer's "pleasure be further signified" with regard to a loss which might be incurred by melting "several pieces of Wrought Plate of great curiosity which are reserved for his Lordship's further consideration."<sup>3</sup> Newton later justified the melting of such plate as was not considered "valuable for fashion," on the plea that being of various standards of purity it could not otherwise be appraised.<sup>4</sup> His letters in the *Treasury Papers* give a detailed account of the pieces which had been brought in as booty from "the Edward and Elizabeth,"<sup>5</sup> taken by "the Mary Man of War,"<sup>6</sup> and other galleons captured by "the Ranalagh,"<sup>7</sup> "the Royal Sovereign," "the Brothers

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv, No. 89, February 18th, 1702-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.*, May 28th, 1703, 18,763, f. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv, No. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 108.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, Alchorne MSS., ff. 1-4b.

Love," "the Dixwell," and "the Susanna," etc. The treasures contained in "the Ranalagh Prize" are calculated to make the soul of a collector quail within him, inasmuch as a good deal was destroyed, but it is with pleasure that we read a carefully tabulated list of treasures, sold unmelted by the Commissioners on August 4th, 1703.<sup>1</sup> The plate saved seems to have been of great beauty, some of it gilt, much of it ornamented "with Philligram work," and one would be glad to trace the subsequent history of such things as "a Candlestick w<sup>th</sup> 2 nossells and an Angel in the Middle"—still more of an altar-piece apparently overlaid with precious metal—"the silver in it" being valued at 5s. 6d. the oz. and described as "being 4 Twisted pillars, supporting a Cupulo w<sup>th</sup> a glory in ye Middle under it."<sup>2</sup> We read of trinkets such as "Seaven gold Chains, 5 gold rings and other odd things some garnished with Pearls" offered for sale "by Candle" in "one lot weighing 2 lb. 3 oz. 8 dwt. at the price of the gold, £3 8/- per oz.," and again of "Four snuffboxes, 12 Thimbles, a Purse, Hatband, a Bottle and Madona, w<sup>th</sup> odd peices of Silver put into a Bagg." at the weight of 5 lb. 10 oz. which were put up for sale at 5s. per oz.<sup>3</sup> Four angels on stands were no more ceremoniously treated, but we rejoice in their salvation—with various pieces of "filigree work" such as "a gilt salver and Holy Water Pott garnished with do." A total of some 180 lb. 2 oz. 8 dwt. Troy weight was rescued from destruction by sale, besides the altar of which the weight was not given. It seems unnecessary to call attention to the "Wrought Baisons" and "Ewers," "Fruit Dishes," "Chocolate Cups," "Wrought" spoons, forks, cruets, salts and "perfuming potts with candlesticks," etc., which were unfortunately left on the hands of the commissioners and condemned to be melted by an order of August 11th 1703-4, resulting in the production during the following months of 6 bars of silver weighing 318 lb. 10 oz. Troy, with a very small surplus of gold from gilt plate.<sup>4</sup>

But we must return to February, 1702-3, when was commanded

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, ff. 28 and 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 2 and 28b. This altar is always described as "not weighed."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 28b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 29 and 29b.

the first destruction of pieces which would now be worth their weight in gold, for producing the £1,000 in silver coinage originally ordered by the Queen. Much wrought plate out of the "Ranalagh Prize"—amounting to 391 lb. in weight—was sacrificed<sup>1</sup> in March under a warrant of February 11th, 1702-3, when the bullion standardized from the various Spanish ingots, plate and pieces of eight produced 701 lb. 4 oz. 19 dwt. of which 321 lb. 2 oz. 13 dwt. was at once converted into the £1,000 desired by Anne and delivered to the Commissioners on March 13th, 1702-3;<sup>2</sup> but 289 lb. 10 oz. in pieces of eight, equalling £999 19s. 11½d., had been handed in Spanish specie to "Sir Cloudesley Shovell,"<sup>3</sup> the remainder, namely 380 lb. 2 oz. 6 dwt., being, as we shall see, coined later.<sup>4</sup> This transaction is chronicled in the *Treasury Minutes*<sup>5</sup> as follows:—"Order Coms. of Prizes to receive from Sir Cloudesley Showl 1000l and to deliver to him ye value thereof in Spanish money at ye Current price, if they have soe much, or else to supply him with part thereof at ye same price." This order must have been somewhat of a relief to the Commissioners who had written on January 28th, 1702-3, to the Treasury for special orders saying that: "Dollars are now risen to five shillings and ninepence an ounce" and

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 4. The "Ranalagh Prize" contained plate and valuables to the weight of 693 lb. 11 oz. 15 dwt. in silver. See *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv, No. 85, February 15th, 1702-3. On board this ship some slight embezzlement was reported, see *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxv, No. 2, January, 1702-3, but historians suggest that embezzlement was not limited to one ship in particular, and the precautions against "running" plate and plunder in October and November, 1702, are given at some length in the *State Papers Domestic Naval*, No. 117, ff. 62 and 74. But little plate and few dollars are mentioned amongst the hidden goods.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 7. The Admiral's Christian name, usually spelt Cloudesley by contemporary writers, is rendered Clowdisley by the *Political History* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is stated in the latter that Shovell's grandmother was the eldest daughter of Thomas Clowdisley of Clay, and the Admiral himself usually signed Clow<sup>d</sup>, but occasionally at full length either as Cloudisley or Clowdisley.

<sup>4</sup> Although the Vigo capture was effected by Sir George Rooke, Shovell as Admiral of the White, joined him immediately afterwards, and it was he who brought home the ships, a service of some difficulty owing to the disabled condition of many of the prizes.

<sup>5</sup> *Treasury Minutes Books*, T. 29, vol. xiv, p. 73, April 19th.

suggested to William Lowndes, Secretary to the Treasury, that "the Lord Treasurer should be informed least there should be a loss in the melting of them down, which we have taken care should not be done till his Lordship's pleasure be further signified."<sup>1</sup>

On April 21st we still find Newton enquiring what he "should do about disposing of what remains in the Mint," but he complied at once with the British Admiral's requirements, delivering to him on April 21st the nearest equivalent in pieces of eight. This money was obviously required by Shovell for foreign service—and it seems hardly credible that no part of the specie was reserved by the Commissioners of Prizes to be used commercially, for the facility with which foreign money was accepted is evidenced not only by English coin weights representing the currency of other nations, but by constant references even at a later period to the mixed contents of any trader's till. Some forty or more years later, "in consequence," as we read in a recently written history of an old English family,<sup>2</sup> "of the taking of plate ships notably at Vigo, during the late wars, a great deal of foreign money was current in England," and the authoress tells us of a certain Dr. Shuckford who noted that he had in his purse at one moment "a Pistole equal to 16s. 6d., a Louis d'or 20s. 0d., a double Louis d'or 40s. 0d., a moidore 27s. 0d." We may, however, remark that there is no mention of pieces of eight in this list, and—although in 1703, as the war was still in progress, it was a convenience to Anne's sailors to have foreign money—the difficulty of adjusting the value of the Spanish pieces was considerable owing to the differences in standard and weight of the coin as circulated in Spain and her colonies and dependencies.<sup>3</sup>

But the decision having been made by the Treasury to "Direct

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiv, No. 49. No Minute records the Treasurer's decision, and some of the pieces of eight were eventually melted.

<sup>2</sup> In a recently written biography, *The Betts of Wortham*, by Katherine Doughty, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ruding*, vol. ii, p. 61, mentions under date 1704, that pieces of eight were assayed at the Mint, and varied in weight from 14 dwt. to 17 dwt. 12 gr., and in worth from 3s. 7½d. to 4s. 6¾d.; nevertheless the better pieces were then held to represent 6s. each. We have seen that they were current at the price of 5s. 9d. the oz. in 1703.

the Comm<sup>rs</sup> of Prizes to sell the pieces of 8, Ingotts of Silver and Silver Plate and ye gold remaining uncoyned to ye best advantage and pay her Mat's part of the proceeds into ye Exchequer,"<sup>1</sup> two more warrants followed under date June 23rd, ordering respectively the sale of the ingots into which the silver residue had been melted, and the similar disposal of uncoined gold bullion from Vigo remaining in the Tower.<sup>2</sup> An earlier warrant had been issued on June 2nd for appraising the goods.<sup>3</sup>

Another document in the Alchorne Manuscripts shows that on August 4th, as we described on our page 238, an effort was made to dispose of "51 Barrs of silver," the amount which by that time had assumed this shape, and a mass of beautiful plate—the goods being put up for sale at the appraised price of the silver, and such things as the altar "which could not be weighed," being obviously only overlaid with silver, and some other fine pieces found purchasers.<sup>4</sup> We may regret that we are not informed whether the sale "by Candle" produced any competition—but we fear not. Only the appraisers' list is available—and so much remained on hand that it does not appear that great alacrity was displayed.<sup>5</sup>

It seems that this rejected plate was therefore melted on August 11th, 6 more bars of silver and 34 oz. 1 dwt. 14 gs. of gold resulting therefrom, and things again remained at a standstill until January 27th, 1703-4, when the Commissioners for Prizes stated that they had "exposed for sale at Several times and at severall prices the silver taken at Vigo, which has been melted in Barrs essay'd in the Mint and marked at Goldsmith's Hall in order to Exportation, and yesterday offered the same at Five Shillings and Sixpence per Ounce, but no person would bid anything for it." The minute attached to this declaration reads: "Order it to be coyned."<sup>6</sup> Newton sums

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Minute Books*, T. 29, vol. 14, p. 105, June 16, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> Information supplied by Mr. Hocking.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxix, No. 32.



up the matter thus: "The Commissioners laid a memorial before my Lord Treasurer relating to the said silver and Mr. Lowndes by his letter of the 1st of febr<sup>y</sup> having signified his Lordship's order to the Commissioners that the said Silver should be forthwith coyned . . . . the 57 Barrs of Silver before mentioned were accordingly entered on the books of her Maj<sup>ties</sup> Mint the 12 day of February following."<sup>1</sup> Newton tells us that "Part of the aforesaid silver being coyned into moneys the 21st of March following," he paid over on the 24th of March £5,102 2s. 6d. "being in Weight one Thousand Six hundred and forty pounds, two ounces Nine pennyweight and seventeen grains being all the moneys that was then coyned. The Remainder of the said Silver (being in weight One Thousand Nine hundred Sixty two Pounds two ounces, seventeen pennyweights fifteen grains) being coyned into moneys the 26th day of Aprill 1704 and making out In Tale Six Thousand, one hundred and four Pounds, Six Shillings was likewise Paid to the said Receiver General's Deputy by



THE VIGO HALF-CROWN, 1703.

Warrant of the Commissioners dated 22nd day of May 1704."<sup>2</sup> We must here note that the total output of silver for the year 1703 was, as I learn from Mr. Hocking, £5,580, and we must therefore look for the residue in the rare half-crown with Tertio on the edge, but without a provenance mark, and the groat, threepence, half-groat and penny. The *Mint Records* assure us that in 1704, £6,842 in silver coins was minted—the Vigo coinage as we see accounts for £6,104 6s., but no

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 29b.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 29b–30.

Vigo coins exist bearing this date. The small remainder of £738 is easily covered by the half-crowns and shillings bearing the Welsh



HALF-CROWN OF 1703. PLAIN BETWEEN SHIELDS.

plumes and the shillings, fourpences, threepences and twopences with plain reverse, but these are dated as they should be, namely, 1704, whilst the Vigo coins must have been struck with unaltered dies to preserve the unity of the coinage. Had it been decided to abandon the provenance mark and to date the coins as issued, collectors would not find the present facility in obtaining specimens of the Vigo coins—whilst on the other hand the plain 1704 shilling is by no means



SHILLING OF 1704. PLAIN BETWEEN SHIELDS.

common enough to warrant the belief that it was made from the residue of the Spanish silver. But strange as is the story of the silver, that of the gold is more perplexing. We left Newton in February, 1702, in difficulties as to the production of a gold coinage, because the precious metal came to hand in small quantities, amounting to "little more than five Pounds weight." He particularized a crucifix, five gold chains, a whistle, an "Ear Picker" and 5 lb. 4 oz. 13 dwt. 18 gr. in pistoles.<sup>1</sup> These pistoles with a few more were melted, and ultimately the gold

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 7b.

account reached 7 lb. 8 oz. 16 dwt. 6 gr. in all, of which 5 lb. 7 oz. 3 dwt. 12 gr.—standardized as 5 lb. 6 oz. 15 dwt. 9 gr.—was converted into £267 7s. 9d.,<sup>1</sup> the chains and other “odd things,” as we have seen, finding purchasers at £3 8s. the oz. It is somewhat surprising to find that the total coinage of Vigo gold was so small, but we have Newton’s evidence that he coined on April 2nd, 1703, and delivered to the Commissioners on the following May 14th, these pieces: “10 five-guinea pieces = £53. 15. 00, 148 guineas = £159. 2. 00, 101 halfe guineas = £54. 5. 9,” also “Small peices of gold to make weight 1 dwt. 6 oz.,” which he valued at 5s., retaining unmelted “Severall chains and other things remaining in the Mint as per particulars.”<sup>2</sup> When in May, 1704, the entire coinage was finished, 34 oz. 1 dwt. 14 gr. of standardized gold, resulting from the melting of gilt plate, remained on hand, and I can find no record that this bullion, which might have produced rather more than half as much as that already minted, was ever coined.<sup>3</sup> We must therefore leave the gold output at £267 7s. 9d., or more correctly speaking, £267 2s. 9d., if the 5s. did not take the form of a gold crown, noting, however, that the coinage of 1703 reached £570, and that no five-guinea pieces, guineas, nor half-guineas bearing this date are known without the Vigo provenance mark. We cannot look for them in 1704, as there was no gold coinage in that year.<sup>4</sup> Were it not that Mr. Hocking tells me the only issue of 1703 in this metal is registered at the Tower as taking place in May—the time when, as we have seen, the £267 7s. 9d. was delivered to the Commissioners—we might suppose that the gold

<sup>1</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,763, f. 4b. It should be remembered that the value of the guinea was at this time £1 1s. 6d., so that £267 7s. 9d. represented 248 guineas and a half, with a surplus of five shillings’ worth of gold which Newton specifies as remaining from this coinage. The figures are Newton’s and, without the 5s. surplus, should more correctly read £267 2s. 9d.; but he makes no statement as to the form in which he delivered this remainder.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 7b. Newton mentions these small pieces of gold to the value of 5s. as making up the balance of the 5 lb. 6 oz. 15 dwt. 9 gr., and specified the chains, etc., remaining in the Mint, and afterwards sold as weighing 2 lb. 1 oz. 10 dwt. 18 gr.

<sup>3</sup> This surplus would make about 124 and a half guineas. *Ibid.*, ff. 9 and 29b.

<sup>4</sup> Information supplied by Mr. Hocking.

refined on February 12th, 1703-4, from the condemned plate, would be made ready for circulation with the silver sent from the mint on March 21st, but only the word "silver" is used, and even if the additional £134 or so which might have resulted from 34 oz. 1 dwt. 14 gr. had been made, the output of £570 mentioned in the *Mint Accounts* for May of 1703 is not covered, and we can only suppose that some slight overlapping of the coinage of January, 1702-3, is responsible for this money, or that some rare specimens of 1703, without provenance mark, may come to light, for no coinage of gold is entered at the mint between May, 1703, when the 34 oz. was yet imbedded in the gilt plate, and April, 1705. It is moreover apparent that in Newton's various reports he speaks of £267 7s. 9d. only, as being converted into five-guinea pieces, guineas, and half-guineas.

We might perhaps glance at the possibility that the naval medals, ordered by Queen Anne in recognition of the services rendered at



VIGO FIVE-GUINEA PIECE.

Vigo, were made out of the surplus gold. This is indeed possible, and from several letters<sup>1</sup> referring to these awards, which I have read in the *MS. Treasury Papers*, it appears that the decorations supplied on this occasion were of so costly a nature that 34 oz. would not go far.<sup>2</sup> Moreover when the Queen, or rather her husband, Prince George,

<sup>1</sup> Two of these letters were chronicled in abstract from the *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, pp. 205 and 209, by the late J. H. Mayo, in his *Medals and Decorations of the British Army*, pp. 87-88. He published an Admiralty minute of Nov. 16, 1703, granting the gifts. I have supplemented his account with extracts from the manuscript *Treasury Papers*.

<sup>2</sup> We may, however, note that the chains, which formed a valuable part of the gift, would not be made in, although provided by, the mint.

issued directions for their presentation no surplus was on hand at the Mint—this, however, was before the melting of the plate in question. The letters are worthy of attention because they afford detailed and in some cases unpublished information concerning the payment for and value of naval rewards at this period, although the bestowal of such was known and has been chronicled by Sir N. H. Nicolas,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mayo, Captain Tancred,<sup>2</sup> and others. It is recorded that Queen Anne ordered gold medals and chains to be distributed to the Admirals and Flag-Captains at Vigo, each decoration representing the sum of £100, some special grants reaching £120, and also that persons of lower naval rank were registered as receiving rewards of lesser value. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat at length the story of the “Torbay” at Vigo, printed by the above authors, and the Admiralty orders of March 15th, 1702–3, for paying £240 to Isaac Newton to provide gold chains and medals for the master, and the boatswain, severally for extinguishing a fire on board that ship,<sup>3</sup> a similar grant for a decoration valued at £120 having already been made to Benjamin Bryer, her gunner, but I find that, as under the Commonwealth,<sup>4</sup> smaller rewards were sometimes apportioned.

In bestowing naval decorations, Anne was doing no new thing, indeed she directly copied the example of her immediate predecessors on the throne and Mr. Mayo chronicled payments for chains and medals of varying worth under William. Mary distributed medals pendent from chains to officers engaged at the battle of La Hogue, an action fought on May 21st, 1692,<sup>5</sup> when we read that “Queen Mary was no sooner informed of this victory than she sent a gratuity

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. iv, *Honorary Medals*.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Record of British War Medals*, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> *Nicolas*, vol. iv, pp. 13 and 14, and Tancred, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Nicolas*, p. 10, and Mayo, pp. 85–86.

<sup>5</sup> See Thomas Lediard's *Naval History*, p. 667. Dr. Payne, in his handbook of *British and Foreign Orders*, p. 247, describes the type of medal used for this purpose as agreeing in all but size with *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 64, no. 266, but of slightly increased measurement, 2 inches instead of 1.95, owing to “a plain raised double border.” J. H. Mayo, p. 79, in his description of the gold example given in 1695 with this obverse to Peter Joliffe gives the smaller measurement as in *Med. Ill.*

of thirty Thousand Pounds down to Portsmouth to be distributed to the Seamen and Soldiers and ordered medals to be struck for Tokens of Honour to the Officers."

It appears that William's medals were of considerable value, occasionally reaching £100, although more usually £50. In 1695 we read of three presentations, equalling £50 apiece,<sup>1</sup> when the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty awarded on June 2nd to William Thompson "a Gold chain and Medal to the value of 50<sup>li</sup> as a reward for his taking a Privateer" on the previous May 30th, 1695. At the same time a similar present was given to William Williams, master of a fishing boat, "for his having retaken from the Enemy several Coasting vessels," and a third recipient on June 17th, 1695, was one Peter Joliffe for having caused the destruction of a French Privateer, recapturing a prize from her, and running her ashore.<sup>2</sup>

The naval medals, together with their chains conferred by the Commonwealth, had ranged from £40 to £300,<sup>3</sup> but the small military badges, like those of Charles I., were more signs of distinction than valuable rewards, being, as we know, often intrinsically worth but a few shillings.

But to approach nearer to the time of Anne, we must remember that Mary's rewards were occasionally more complimentary than valuable, for I have seen an example in silver in the collection of Major Murray of Polmaise.<sup>4</sup> Anne, so far as my manuscript researches have led me to suppose, bestowed no medals of lesser value

<sup>1</sup> *Nicolas*, p. 13. See also Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii, pp. 153-154, and *The London Gazette*, June 2nd, No. 3,085; and on June 17th, in No. 3,089, we read: "The Lords Commissioners for the further Encouragement of William Thompson of Poole, have likewise given him the Sloop which he took lately from the French."

<sup>2</sup> *The London Gazette*, June 17th, 1695, No. 3,089. The medal granted to Joliffe, still extant, has the same obverse as the La Hogue medal, but the plain reverse was engraved with his name and services. See *Mayo*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Nicolas*, p. 10. Chains were given to Blake and Monk valued at £300 each with their pendent medals.

<sup>4</sup> Figured by the late Captain Tancred on p. 34 of his *Record*. It was, at the time he published his volume, in the collection of Colonel Murray, the late brother of the present owner. It is of the same type as that mentioned on our p. 246, Note 5, but with a slightly differing border.

than £5, but Sir N. Harris Nicolas refers to an order of the year 1744, under George II.,<sup>1</sup> for a recompense to the master of a privateer and his sailors as "being similar to the rewards bestowed in the reign of King William and Queen Mary and of Queen Anne to Private Ships," specifying that one Richard Hornby had "a gold medal and chain" worth £100, whilst those for his men equalled £5 "and £3 to each boy."<sup>2</sup> We must therefore feel no surprise at hearing that Anne issued silver naval rewards as well as gold, as had been done by her elder sister, but curiously, so far as our present research carries us, but one specimen exists in each metal, and we cannot absolutely identify the gift chosen by Queen Anne in commemoration of the Vigo captures, unless the type selected agreed with the type of a solitary specimen in gold, later given to Captain Lampriere, of which more anon.<sup>3</sup> Sir N. H. Nicolas states that the account for the Vigo medals above mentioned was "to be paid out of money received by the Treasurer of the Navy for the Tenths of Prizes, appointed by the late Act of Parliament for medals and other rewards for officers, marines and seamen in Her Majesty's service,"<sup>4</sup> but we shall see how the Queen took up the burden, and much controversy arose between the Admiralty and Treasury as to payments required for naval rewards.

The correspondence in the *Treasury Papers* refers thus to diffi-

<sup>1</sup> A large gold medal, bestowed by George II. on Captain Callis in 1742, is figured in our last volume, pp. 305-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Nicolas*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> By the courtesy of H.S.H. Prince Louis of Battenberg, I understand that an illustration will be found in his book about to be published, on *Naval Commemorative Medals*, of a silver decoration in the collection of Dr. A. A. Payne. This medal, which was accorded to a boy named Robert Taylor, is figured on p. 248 of Dr. Page's *British and Foreign Orders*, to which Prince Louis directed my attention. The bust on the obverse, as His Serene Highness remarks, is taken from the large Peace-of-Utrecht Medal, illustrated on our page 285. We are thus carried to the end of Anne's reign and not enlightened as to the Vigo reward, but we shall see that the gold medal accorded to Captain Lampriere bears a bust usually associated with the Union, although presented to him in 1703, and possibly the original designs may be earlier than we have hitherto believed.

<sup>4</sup> *Nicolas*, p. 14, Note 9. See also pp. 6 and 7, where it is stated that the Act was originally passed by the Commonwealth in 1649, and *Mayo*, Appendix A, p. 517, for the Act.

culties arising from the fact that the Queen had herself undertaken to pay for the gift: "Her Mat<sup>e</sup> having [by her Declaration of 1st June]<sup>1</sup> been pleased to direct that there shall be paid out of her Mat<sup>e</sup> share of Prizes such sum<sup>e</sup> or sum<sup>es</sup> of Money, as the Lord High Admiral shall from time to time think fitt to direct to be paid for Medalls or other Rewards for such Persons, as shall be found to have done any Eminent or Extraordinary Sea Services."<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately the Commissioners of Prizes, writing on March 18th, 1703-4, informed the Lord High Treasurer that: "There is at present, no Money belonging to the Queen remaining in the hands of the Receiver Generall for Prizes." They therefore suggested that "since all Rewards are to be paid out of her Mat's Share of Prizes and not out of the Lord High Admiral's Perquisites" it would be advisable that "a certain share and proportion of her Mat's Moyety<sup>3</sup> should be reserved in our Treasurer's hands" in the future. Otherwise they were "apprehensive that there will be some Rewards ordered for the Marines Officers, as well as such Commanders of Ships concerned at Vigo as are not Captains, according to the Opinions of the Attorney and Sollicitor Generall, which we concieve may amount to a very large Sum<sup>e</sup>." The question as to payment of rewards to the Mercantile Marine had already called forth a protest on November 22nd, 1703, an order being signed by George Clarke, of the Admiralty, on behalf of Prince George, the Lord High Admiral, asking the Commissioners, under date November 19th, to pay £55 to the

<sup>1</sup> The Declaration is printed in full in *The London Gazette*, No. 3,815, June 1st, 1702. The proportion of prize-money is therein specified, one moiety being given to officers and men. For subsequent confirmation of the Declaration see *London Gazette*, No. 3,890, February 18th, 1702-3, where we find the Queen's special orders concerning a further distribution "of one-half of the Neat Proceed of all the rest of the Effects taken out of our Enemies' ships at Vigo."

<sup>2</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxix, No. 120, dated March 18th, 1703-4, and endorsed "read 22 March, 1703," but not minuted with any decision as to the suggested arrangement.

<sup>3</sup> In another letter written on March 20th, 1703, *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxix, No. 123, the Commissioners point out that the Queen has already received £6,747 14s. 7d. above her legitimate share out of a total of £218,019 8s. 6d., a sum which included other captures besides that at Vigo Bay.



Treasurer of the Navy for Newton "for enabling him to provide Medalls of that value for the Persons hereafter mençoñd belonging to a Merchant Ship the Leonora," thus exciting the fears of the Official Recievers.<sup>1</sup>

The protest addressed to Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Treasury, is minuted "A l<sup>re</sup> to Mr. Clarke to have this paid by Mr. Dod the Recver of ye perquisites of the Admiralty."<sup>1</sup>

Three days later, on November 25th, Clarke asked Lowndes to explain to the Commissioners of Prizes that Prince George's order was based on the "Queens Declaration, an Order in Council and the Attorney Generall's opinion" and that he was not disposed to give way.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the Lord High Admiral had "given up his Perquisites to the Queene dureing the Warre" and consequently had "not the power even to pay his own officers for collecting them, much less to reward anybody else, and his Receiver would be just under the same difficulties as the Receiver of the Prizes."

The matter was at this time temporarily settled by Lord Godolphin, the High Treasurer's minute attached to this letter: "Send a cobby to the Com<sup>rs</sup> of prizes. My Lord is of ye same

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvii, No. 133, Nov. 19th and 22nd, 1703. In thus referring the expenses to the tenth customarily due to the Lord High Admiral, the practice of the Commonwealth was revived. William and Mar., moreover, in 1692, set apart in the name of this official a tenth of the prizes taken by any other ship than a privateer to purchase rewards, 4 Gul. et Mar., c. 25. The Declaration of June 1st continued the grant of one-tenth of the prizes to the Lord High Admiral, although, as we have seen, undertaking the payment of the seamen's rewards by the Queen; but under date November 16th, 1703, a letter from the Admiralty quoted by *Mayo*, Appendix A, p. 517, debarred privateers from participation in awards of medals because of the exemption from paying tenths of prizes, "unless they do some signall service and that then it be considered of." According to the report placed by the Prize Commissioners before the House of Commons on November 11th, 1704, the total sum which had passed through their hands "from the Commencement of the War to the 7th November, 1704" amounted to £400,740 4s. 10d. Of this sum the Admiral had received £3,098 15s. 8d. "for Prizes and Perquisites adjudged to him" and the Queen £145,685 3s. 2d. The £575 for medals is separately charged as paid "persuant to Her Majesty's Declaration." *Commons Journals*, vol. xvi, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxvii, No. 145, Nov. 25th, 1703.

opinion as the letter"; but as we have seen, this led to further complication in 1704, when the Queen's share was exhausted.

Clarke's first letter is of interest because, instead of the large gold medal attached to a chain, valued at £100 as ordered for the Vigo Captains, or even at £120, as for the officers of the "Torbay," the required gifts varied, the sum of £5 being granted to the youngest recipient of the royal favour. The document reads:—

	£	
"To Thomas Hedges, the Master—a Medall, value 20 <sup>li</sup> is	20	
For John Pimble,	} Mariners—a Medall to each of	
Philip Devonshire and		
Daniel Lawley,		
To Thomas Stubbs, a boy, Medall, value 5 <sup>li</sup> is	... .. 5	
	—	
	in all	55

as a reward to them for their courage and Resolution for having (after being taken in the aforesaid ship by Three French men of Warr and made Prisoners) Sett upon thirteen Frenchmen which were ordered to sail her to France, whom they obliged to Surrender the Ship to them."

Of the type of these medals we have at present no certain trace, but Captain Tancred<sup>1</sup> describes the gold decoration to which I referred on page 248 as being given rather later to Captain James Lampriere and to Sir Robert Fairfax for services rendered under Rear-Admiral Dilkes at Concalles on July 27th, 1703.<sup>2</sup> And possibly the

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Records*, pp. 37 and 38. Captain Tancred describes the medal as having a crowned bust of Queen Anne on the obverse, with the legend: "Anna: Dei: Gratia: Mag: Britan: Fra: et: Hib: Regina," and on the reverse a long inscription concerning the services rendered, surmounting a shield with the recipient's arms and the motto: "True to my Trust."

<sup>2</sup> The action commenced on July 22nd, Dilkes and his fleet pursuing and overcoming the enemy. The Queen commanded that gold medals should be given "to the Admiral and the principal Officers" engaged in this affair. See *Tancred*, pp. 37 and 38, and *Naval Chronicle*, vol. v, p. 471, also Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. iii, p. 376, and Lediard's *Naval History*, p. 773. For an official account of the battle see *The London Gazette*, August, 1703, No. 3,937.

same design would have figured at Vigo, namely the Queen's bust on the obverse and an inscription with the recipient's arms on a shield on the reverse. If used for the mercantile marine the device must have been modified to suit the rank of him to whom each medal was given, for not all those who received the gift were entitled to bear arms.

Lampriere's medal is figured on Plate 12, No. 1, of Mr. Mayo's book. It has the same obverse as Croker's large Union medal, illustrated in our last volume facing p. 264, and in diameter measures  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches. This is a matter of interest, as corroborating Van Loon's suggestion that this bust was first designed at the time of Anne's accession, although we have seen that Newton only authorized its issue in 1707.<sup>1</sup> The idea presents itself that the obverse in the form of a naval reward preceded the Union reverse of *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 298, No. 115, by several years. I may remind my readers that Croker valued the large Union medal at £30 in gold, and this affords some information as to the relative cost of chain and pendant in the total of £100.

With regard to the Queen's portrait in 1702, we can only say that we have no evidence that the gift chosen for services at Concallo in July, 1703, was already in use at the time of the Vigo capture; let us, therefore, glance for a moment at the medals struck in celebration of the Vigo incident. The official design here illustrated was specially issued from the Tower Mint by Croker to the public in gold for



MEDAL ON THE EXPEDITION TO VIGO BAY. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 236, NO. 18.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 223, note 2, and also vol. x, p. 210, note 2.

£4 5s. 0d., and at 6s. and 2s. in silver and copper respectively,<sup>1</sup> or so he states in his price list—although an example in gold is yet to seek.

If this portrait appeared on any of the naval medals granted in memory of Vigo treasure, it must probably have been distinguished by its reverse from such as were purchasable.

In a report concerning the desire of the engravers of the Mint to sell medals on their own account, we come upon some slight indication of an arrangement suggested in 1706 for distinguishing medals designed for presentation, from those intended for sale.<sup>2</sup> The Mint officials recommend that “upon the edge of such medalls as are made for rewarding persons by her Mat<sup>y</sup> for their good Services to enscribe the words DONVM REGINÆ with ye Date.” The Queen’s warrant under date November 2nd, 1706, is quoted in granting leave to the gravers “to sell such medals of fine gold and Silver as did not relate to State affairs,”<sup>3</sup> enjoining upon them that upon medals given for “good Services to us” they were “to Impress the Service for which the said Medals are given with the date.” We should therefore feel confident that these instructions were carried out, and such inscriptions will now be looked for and perhaps found<sup>4</sup> on the edge or reverse of some medals subsequent to the year 1706—but not necessarily on the Vigo reward medals, which were issued before permission to sell was granted to the engravers.

We may also notice that the bust of the Queen on the Vigo medal, designed for a field of less than 1½ inches in diameter, would not have answered to the requirements of a medal, which, together with its chain,

<sup>1</sup> See Croker’s list “On taking and destroying the galleons at Vigo : £4 5s., 6s., and 2s.”

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759, f. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 154. See also No. 146 “the warrant for graving Medals of fine gold, fine silver and fine copper with plain Historical Designs and Inscriptions in memory of great actions.”

<sup>4</sup> We must, however, bear in mind that the decorations were often bestowed upon very poor men, to whose heirs the money represented by a gold medal was of more value than the memorial itself, and that the melting-pot is responsible for the disappearance of these, as of so many other relics described in old books and catalogues, and only known from the descriptions.

was intended to represent the sum of £100, and Captain Lampriere's medal has shown that the design later used was of a more suitable measurement. Even thus it is evident that at least two-thirds of the gold was concentrated in the chain.

It is, however, possible that any difficulty with regard to value might be surmounted by encircling the portrait with a heavy cable border, such as surrounds another and much smaller medal in Major Murray's collection which, accompanied by the original chain from which it is still pendent, was the gift of George III. to Captain Woolridge at a similar cost.<sup>1</sup>

When I state that Croker appraised his Vigo medals for sale in gold at £4 5s. apiece, I do not necessarily suggest that this represents their exact cost to the Queen, if she adopted this design for small naval rewards, for we learn from a manuscript in the British Museum<sup>2</sup> that the expense of producing the gold medals made for her personal distribution at her Coronation was 3s. each, plus the weight of the precious metal. Such Coronation medals as were struck in silver were smaller and heavier than those made for Vigo, and in gold weighed—or were intended to weigh, for theory and practice varied considerably on either side, 288 grs. The Vigo commemoration medal is, as we have said, not known to us in gold, but the difference of 20 to 30 grs. in weight between the silver examples in the British Museum and the official Coronation medals in this metal agrees with the distinction in price in Croker's list—for he charged the public only £3 15s. for examples of the Coronation medal, as against £4 5s. for the Vigo commemoration.<sup>3</sup> For this slightly increased weight the poundage

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated by Captain Tancred, facing p. 74, in his *Historical Records of Medals*.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759.

<sup>3</sup> The 862 medals ordered at 351 grs. by Anne, for distribution on the Peace of Utrecht, agreeing approximately in weight with *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 400, No. 257, cost the Queen £2,754 6s. 11d., or roughly speaking £3 3s. 10½d. each. This medal is one for which Croker charged the public the same price as the gold Coronation medal, that is, £3 15s. It may therefore be assumed that each medal cost the Queen about one-sixth less than the general public.

might be proportionately increased, but the evidence concerning some medals made for George I. does not suggest this course.<sup>1</sup>

We must now return to the consideration of the ordinary affairs of the mint.

In the succeeding year, 1704, there was no gold issue, perhaps owing to the large recoinage of this metal<sup>2</sup> which, as we have shown in our description of William III.'s reign given in our ninth volume, was in progress when Anne ascended the throne, and which, between the date of her accession in the March of 1701-2 and the production of the Vigo coins, amounted to £91,301. However, as we have noted, "the Queen's effigies" were not prepared for a considerable time, and we must look for the majority of these gold coins amongst the large and handsome pieces bearing King William's portrait in high relief, struck from dies of 1701, only guineas and half-guineas being known of Anne's first year.<sup>3</sup>

What between complaints from the moneyers in times of dearth and from overworked officials in times of plenty, Anne's Treasury Board was constantly bombarded with appeals, and during this recoinage of gold we find the clerks at the mint praying unavailingly for an increase of stipend on the plea that "the Extraordinary Coynage in her May<sup>ties</sup> Mint obliges your Petitioners not only to Constant but more than Ordinary attendance."<sup>4</sup> Their petition, based upon their "sallarys being but forty Pounds per Annum without any Fees or Perquisites whatsoever out of which they pay Taxes," is unsympathetically minuted "15 July, 1702, not granted," and we see that although the Treasury officials found no reasons for indulging the clerks' requests, the activity of the members of the staff at the Tower was still great, and also that, unlike the moneyers, they were required to

<sup>1</sup> The Coronation medals weigh from 226 to 250½ grs., the official weight being 262 grs. ; and the Vigo medals in the British Museum vary from 254 to 283 grs. We see, therefore, that the heavier specimens are as much as 21 grs. above the intended 262 of the Coronation issues, and about 30 grs. in excess of the average examples.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, pp. 231-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxx, No. 147.

pay taxes.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hocking has placed at my disposal the list of coinages in the years of Anne, from the death of William in March, 1701-2, to that of his successor in August, 1714, and I notice that in three years only did the silver output exceed £10,000, whilst that of the gold constantly increased from the year 1705 until 1714, when upwards of £700,000 was coined in six months.<sup>2</sup>



FIVE-GUINEA PIECE OF 1714.

<sup>1</sup> For the grant given by Elizabeth to the Moneyers in confirmation of similar charters from the time of Edward III., see *Harl. MSS.* 698, fo. 29. An exemption from taxes, attendance on juries, etc., was conferred on the "kepers, Laborors or Workemen, Moniemakers or Coyners and other ministry deputed or appoynted unto those things which touche the office of Chaundges." The moneyers were thus a privileged body, but they claimed also as a "Corporation" the exclusive right of coinage by contract, and, being unable to produce a charter to this effect either at the "Mint Enquiry" of 1697 or on subsequent occasions, their privileges were withdrawn on the recommendation of the Parliamentary Commission of 1848, and the practice of contract with the "Company of Moneyers" terminated finally in 1851. See "Report of the Commission," *Num. Chron.*, 1st series, vol. xii, pp. 29-49. Information has also been kindly supplied by Mr. Hocking.

<sup>2</sup> March 25th, 1702, to March 25th, 1703, presumably dated 1702 on the coins—

*N*, £91,301; *R*, £2,580.

1703 *N*, £570; *R*, £5,580.

1704 *N*, Nil; *R*, £6,842.

1705 *N*, £14,531; *R*, £1,632.

1706 *N*, £25,091; *R*, £2,864.

1707 *N*, £44,996; *R*, £7,434.

1708 *N*, £71,022; *R*, 10,332.

1709 *N*, £107,864; *R*, 77,258.

1710 *N*, £231,499; *R*, 2,081.

1711 *N*, £337,074; *R*, £76,010.

1712 *N*, £267,360; *R*, £7,764.

1713 *N*, £669,616; *R*, £5,379.

1714 March, 1713, to Aug., 1714. *N*, £747,834; *R*, £1,336.

Total—*N*, £2,608,758. *R*, £207,092.

The effigy of Anne continued in use for a time after her death—just as that of

With regard to portraiture little alteration is to be seen, and we may be permitted to wonder why distinctly fresh puncheons should have been required so often as four times, exclusive of the coinage issued by the Scottish mint, in the shillings of a reign in which the silver output was comparatively small. The head upon the second shilling, as seen on the Vigo coins, is perhaps the most pleasing, and the



SHILLING OF 1707, THIRD BUST.

fourth bust of the Queen, in use from 1710 to 1714, the least so.<sup>1</sup> Peculiarities of reverse were designed to indicate the different provenance of the silver, such as roses and plumes, or plumes only, between the shields as portrayed below, both constituting interesting varieties.



SHILLING WITH PLUMES ON THE REVERSE, 1705.

It is somewhat curious that the date April 5th, 1706, should be that of the Order in Council authorizing the first-mentioned mark on the silver, namely, roses and plumes, pertaining to a certain company entitled the "Company for smelting downe Lead with Pit-coale and Sea coale," seeing that shillings and sixpences bearing date, 1705, exist so

William had appeared on the majority of the coins really minted in 1702. See pp. 231 and 232 and note 1 on p. 232.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in our last volume, p. 214.



decorated.<sup>1</sup> Whether the coinage which, as I am courteously informed by Mr. Hocking, was performed in March, 1705-6, was thus adorned in immediate anticipation of the permission, who shall say? We may, however, notice that a Mint Report upon the subject of coining for this company and the use of "a Marke of Distinction" contains a request for a warrant so early as January 2nd, 1705-6, mentioning that the company had brought in to the mint from 55 to 60 lb. weight to be coined during the past five months and a new bar of silver "every three weeks or thereabouts."<sup>2</sup> The authorities stated that "several thousand ounces of such silver" awaited coining, and that "her Majesty and her Royal Predecessors have been graciously pleased from time to time to grant a Mark of Distinction to be stampd on such coyns." There are no shillings nor sixpences with roses and plumes dated 1706, but the coinage was that year continued with crowns and half-crowns, and was carried out in 1707 in all four denominations.<sup>3</sup> Another curious fact with regard to the obverse type of the shillings with this provenance mark is observable



CROWN OF 1707.

<sup>1</sup> See Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, p. 399. The date of the warrant consequently issued is April 20th. *Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS.* 18,759, f. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. xcvi, No. 5, 1706. The petition to be allowed a mark of distinction, preserved in *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 18,759, f. 142, is undated, but as it was referred to the mint officials for their consideration on December 21st, 1705, and the report is dated January 2nd, 1705-6, it is suggested that the Mint officials coined the bullion knowing that the authorization would follow. The petitioners enclosed a suitable sketch of the roses and plumes device, stating that they had refined silver from lead "both in England & Wales."

<sup>3</sup> See *Hawkins*, p. 403.

in 1708, for thereon the pre-Union bust of Anne was still occasionally used although discarded on all other specimens, excepting in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The Queen's early portraiture to me seems more graceful than the busts after the Union. A slight change of bust upon the gold is observable in the guineas of 1708, and the two varying examples are set before you from the cabinet of Mr. Spink, to whose courtesy I owe several of our illustrations.



1ST BUST. 2ND BUST.  
GUINEAS OF 1708. OLD AND NEW TYPES.

The increased output of gold in 1709 was signaled by the production of the two-guinea piece, a handsome coin, which had not before



TWO-GUINEA PIECE, 1709.

made its appearance bearing Anne's bust. On the reverse, as upon the other coins after the Union, the star of the garter replaced the rose, which had succeeded the arms of Nassau—the escutcheon of William III.—in the centre of the gold pieces, at the junction, cross-fashion, of the four shields of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. The arms also were differently arranged, those of England and Scotland being impaled in the upper and lower shields and—promptly enough—upon the five-guinea piece this alteration appeared before May 1st, 1707, the

<sup>1</sup> See Burns's *Coinage of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 534.

day fixed for the Declaration of the Union. We find the new arms so early as 1706, having clearly been instituted in the actual month in which the Act of Union received the Royal Assent, namely March, 1706-7, the treaty having been ratified in Scotland in the previous January. The same change in heraldry was of course necessary in the silver, but the smaller coins, bearing no arms, alone experienced no alteration, unless we regard as such the abbreviation of the word Britain, which reads BRI, instead of BR, after the Union, an additional letter which appears in nearly all other cases for the first time in 1708. There seems, however, no reason to connect the change in the legend with the Union, for it is not invariable upon the larger coins, and sixpences exist of 1707 reading BR with the arms in use both before and after May 1st, at which date the Act of Union came into operation. No groat of the year 1707 has met my view. Whilst speaking of these little coins I may say that I have found no reference to any proposal in Anne's reign to carry out the desired scheme for coining small currency in Ireland, which had been mooted under her sister and brother-in-law in 1693,<sup>1</sup> and again in 1698 and 1701<sup>2</sup> after Mary's death. Our writers on Irish subjects note that although proclamations were issued they refer only to the current value of English and foreign moneys for which, as we have seen, coinweights had been supplied under William III. in 1697.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, clear that in England attention was given to the matter of small change, and I find it difficult to agree with the late Mr. Hawkins,<sup>4</sup> who gave the name of Maundy money unreservedly to the mass of little silver pieces from the middle of Charles II.'s reign onwards, an ascription which his careful editor, Mr. R. L. Kenyon, saw no reason to revise.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xxviii, No. 65, and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xii, pp. 284 and 288, and *British Numismatic Journal* as above.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. xlviii, No. 49, and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Silver Coins of England*, ed. 1841, pp. 212 and 219.

<sup>5</sup> *Silver Coins of England*, 2nd Edition, 1876, pp. 375 and 382, and 3rd Edition, 1887, pp. 378 and 385.

We are, of course, well aware that the Maundy distribution was large, amounting to about £200. The whole presentation, however, was not in the form of small coins, but included a piece of gold besides various incidental expenses, such as payments for choir children and other gifts, besides the clothing and provisions which accompanied the purse containing the Maundy coins. We find in account-books, before mentioned as being at Danny, some notes which cast sidelights on Anne's private expenditure, such as an item under the *Treasurer of the Chamber's Household Accounts* concerning the Maundy doles, and we read therein under date March 5th, 1702-3, "To compleat the allowance of £200 for her Maty's alms on Monday [for Maundy] Thursday, 100."<sup>1</sup> The corresponding entry is to be found in the *Treasury Papers* at the Public Record Office in almost the same words: "Due to compleat ye 200<sup>li</sup> on the Establish. for her Mat's Almes on Maundy Thursday next 100.0.0." This item figures in a list of "bills due in the Treasury of the Chamber Office since March 8th, 1701-2," therefore since the death of William.<sup>2</sup> The Duchess of Marlborough tells us in her memoirs that the expenses of the Queen's Privy Purse included "healing gold and charities besides many pensions that were paid out of it,"<sup>3</sup> and we find numerous entries concerning sums "paid to diverse persons of her Maty's Royal Bounty," such as £1,000 in February, 1702-3, to be distributed to the poor of the city through the hands of the Lord Mayor, and £500 a year to the Lord Almoner "for her Maty's daily Alms," and another sum of £54 15s. for the "Poor at the gate."<sup>4</sup>

The ancient custom of giving special doles on the day before Good Friday had been continued by William, who had rejected the more personal act of touching for the King's Evil. Anne, in her pride of Stuart birth, had, at the instance of Harley, resumed the practice

<sup>1</sup> Danny MSS. The Maundy Thursday indicated fell on March 25th, 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxv, No. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> Danny MS. Account Books. The "Gate Alms" consisted of an allowance by the day or week to various poor persons, which in older times was paid at the gate of the Palace at Whitehall. See *Guardian*, April 5th, 1893.

of "healing,"<sup>1</sup> in which her ancestors had taken an especial pride, and which, in spite of gout and other infirmities, must be performed by the sovereign in person, whereas the washing of feet, preceding the distribution of gifts in Holy Week, a penance which had commended itself to the piety of James II., might be omitted from the charitable ritual, or undertaken as proxy by a church dignitary.<sup>2</sup>

The Maundy distribution, which for hundreds of years has taken place on the day before Good Friday at the hands of our monarchs, has since its institution been subjected to many alterations, and I read before this Society, last April, a paper which I hope to be permitted some day to place at the disposal of my readers, giving various details concerning these changes. For the moment, suffice it to say that at the present time the gifts of clothing and food<sup>3</sup> which formed part of the benefaction have been commuted for a money payment, so that the total expense as regards each male recipient amounts to £4 15s., whilst the women receive £4 5s., with the addition in each case of a purse containing small coins representing the year of the sovereign's age—or, rather, the age he will attain in the current year, for this is the practice of King George V., as it was of most of his predecessors, the extra months being reckoned as "the year of grace."

Without directly asserting, therefore, that from £4 to £5 was

<sup>1</sup> Anne, although she, for political reasons, exercised the grace of "touching," objected to the expression that "her right" was "divine," as used in an address presented to her by the City of London on October 10th, 1710, saying, as Shrewsbury informed Harley, that she "thought it unfit to be given to anybody, and that she wished it to be left out." See *Political History of England*, vol. ix, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> James II. was the last English monarch who washed and kissed the feet of Maundy recipients. It is believed that after his departure, one of the Archbishops performed the more disagreeable part of the work, and in 1736 this function was abandoned and only the money distribution remains to this day. See *The Guardian*, April 5th, 1893. Article by H. J. Bidwell, at that time Secretary of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Almonry, and kindly communicated to me by his successor in office.

<sup>3</sup> The full ceremonial in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century included, besides the distribution of the bags of small moneys, a gift of shoes, stockings, linen and other garments, various forms of food and even drink, and a further sum of £1 each, as a fine in redemption of the sovereign's own robe, given in pre-Elizabethan days to the pensioners.

required by Anne for the dole to each of those who benefited by the Maundy gift, we can understand the necessity of providing in her time



MAUNDY PENNY.

£200 for the total expenses, and this sum is specified, as we have seen in the *Treasury Papers* of 1702–3, although in actual small coin in the year of her accession at the age of thirty-seven, little more than £6 for all the men and the like sum for the women—total £12—would be required for the silver distribution of pennies besides £76 in gold, whilst the larger half of the moneys would be expended upon gifts in kind. We can but regret that an entry in the Treasury Books under date March 19th, 1701–2, takes the form of an unanswered question, for no sum is noted in reply to the following enquiry: “Send to the wardrobe to know how much the Charge of Maundy for 38<sup>1</sup> poor men will come to in the office. Send to the Cofferer and Trer [Treasurer] of ye Chamber for ye List.”<sup>2</sup>

Let me, however, reserve my arguments on the vexed question of “Maundy” gifts until such time as I can explain them more thoroughly, and let us by your courtesy treat the small coins as part of the ordinary currency, claiming their place in any description of Anne’s coinage.

Let us turn to the *Treasury Papers*, and we shall find a long report signed on July 7th, 1702, by Sir John Stanley, the Warden, Isaac Newton, the Master, and John Ellis, the Controller of the Mint, on the respective values of foreign and English money.<sup>3</sup> They herein suggested the possibility of increasing the size and consequently reducing the standard of the smaller coins, and this suggestion alone

<sup>1</sup> Although Anne was only in her 38th year, the amounts of her benefactions were calculated on this basis, which included the “year of grace” as before explained. We must remember in calculating the average expenditure that the number of recipients, as well as the amount of the gifts, was determined by the age of the sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xiii, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxx, No. 105.

seems all-sufficient to prove that they were issued as currency. Whilst opposing any proposal for changing the alloy of the



ANNE'S THREEPENCE, 1710.

larger pieces, they deemed "that if small money, which by continual use wears away fast and is apt to be lost, were coined of coarse alloy, as is done in several countries, provided it were well coined to prevent counterfeiting, such money would weare longer and be less apt to be lost than the small money now in use. By small money we understand Groats, Threepences, Twopences and Pence, unless the penny by reason of its smallness be made of copper."



GROAT OF 1703.

Until the year 1797 no substitution of a copper for a silver penny was made in consequence of the above suggestion, but I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer my readers interested in the copper coinage to the illustrations of some of Anne's halfpence and farthings in our last volume, and the many discussions resulting from proposed issues.<sup>1</sup>

Before closing this review of the currency issued by Queen Anne, may I add a slight sketch of the man to whose careful and thorough technique is due so much of its academic beauty so ardently admired by Ruding.<sup>2</sup>

Born at Dresden on October 21st, 1670, the son of a distinguished wood carver and cabinet maker to the Electoral Court of Saxony, "Johann Crocker" was early left fatherless. His mother educated him

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 239-256.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruding Annals*, vol. ii, p. 61.

well, but being overburdened with younger children, confided him to the care of a relation, who was a goldsmith and jeweller in his Saxon birthplace.<sup>1</sup>

He devoted his leisure to medal engraving, and after terminating his apprenticeship, he travelled in Germany and Holland, coming thence to England, where he arrived in 1691. "After working some time exclusively as a medallist, John Croker, as he was called in this country, became known in that capacity to many influential persons," as his biographer in an early number of the *Numismatic Chronicle* quaintly phrases it, "particularly those who had the administration of the Royal Mint."<sup>2</sup> Whether to influence, therefore, or whether to the fact that, like many of his countrymen, he was willing to work for small remuneration, as is hinted by the Georgian memorialist I earlier quoted,<sup>3</sup> he obtained a place at the Tower. But we need not review his career from 1697 onward, for we have followed it closely under William III.<sup>4</sup> Neither is it within our limits to pursue his course to its end, further than to mention that he loyally fulfilled the conditions imposed upon him both as an engraver himself and in instructing his subordinates, and when he died, full of years, in 1741, he had trained his assistant and successor, John Sigismund Tanner, to such precision in his manner that the change of hand is barely discernible.<sup>5</sup> But even in his old age we still find him complaining "that he hath been at the Expenses of paying a Filer 36 years, w<sup>ch</sup> computing at 25<sup>li</sup> per ann only, amo<sup>ts</sup> to 900<sup>li</sup>," and that his own services met with less remuneration than was his due, for he instances that his predecessor, Henry Harris,

<sup>1</sup> Nagler, vol. iii, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1st Series, vol. xv, pp. 67-73. *Johann Crocker*, by J. G. Pfister.

<sup>3</sup> See our page 229.

<sup>4</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vols. viii and ix.

<sup>5</sup> John Croker died on March 21st, 1740-1, and already on March 24th, the *Treasury Minute Books* inform us that John Sigismund Tanner is "to be chief Engraver to the mint in the room of Mr. Croker, dec<sup>d</sup>. James Anthony Dassier to succeed Tanner." *Minute Book*, T. 29, vol. xxviii, p. 301. The warrant for a sign-manual to pass the great seal granting the appointment to Tanner, on April 9th, 1741 speaks simply of John Croker as "lately deceased." *King's Warrant Book*, pp. 212 213.



although he received a higher salary, was paid £6 14s. per term for his filers.<sup>1</sup>

Almost as much difficulty seems to have been experienced under Anne as under most of her predecessors in obtaining overdue payments, and Mr. Law, in his *History of Hampton Court*, tells pathetic stories of the answers received soon after her accession by petitioners. We read of a bill from a London merchant for seven statues and a bust purchased in Italy for William, meeting with the response from the Queen's Treasury, "He may have the statues again," and even the master bricklayer at the Palace was informed that "There is no money at present for arrears."<sup>2</sup>

The work at Hampton Court was carried forward by Anne, and although some of the debts, which she found it so difficult to meet, were incurred by William, much of the rather florid decoration was due to his successor. We may instance the ceilings painted by Verrio in which an apotheosis of Anne bears a conspicuous part,<sup>3</sup> and the frescoed walls of the Queen's drawing-room, which latter have remained undimmed by time, in that for many years they were covered by green damask which was then in turn superseded by a red flock paper. Recent removal of the superincumbent canvas and paper has again brought to light Prince George of Denmark and his wife, painted in the all too vivid colouring usual to Verrio. This artist, who had with great reluctance been persuaded to work for William, made no difficulties with regard to Anne, the Queen being indeed accepted as a Stuart by many old Jacobites, because her brother, Prince James, was too young to assert his claims in a manner which could demand action on their part, until the Queen had been for some years firmly established upon the throne. The unpopularity of the Union in Scotland gave the opportunity for the first call to assert the cause of the exile—but it is noticeable that after the expedition of 1708-9 had failed, and possibly that of 1715-16 also, a medal, which was issued by the Jacobites, bore young James's effigy on the one side, and Anne's upon the other,

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Indices Reference Book*, T. 4, vol. xi, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, pp. 175 and 176.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Hampton Court Palace*, vol. iii, p. 174.

emphasizing his right to succeed his sister rather than his wish to enforce his more immediate claims.<sup>1</sup>



ANNE AND PRINCE JAMES. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 382, NO. 232.

I bring before you an example of this bust portraying the aspirant to the throne, reproduced from a medal engraved by Norbert Roettier in 1708,<sup>2</sup> with the portrait of Anne as she was represented by Croker after the capture of Douay in 1710.<sup>3</sup> A well-known authority, Sir Henry Ellis, in a list printed by him for private circulation, writes :—" This medal and two or three others of similar workmanship were executed by desire of some partisans of the exiled family to form a series of medallic portraits of its members."<sup>4</sup> The bust of James was also used on the medals made in commemoration of the death of his sister Louisa in 1712,<sup>5</sup> and was in such demand that a copy was eventually required for the above purpose. Peculiarities in the chasing of the brooch on the Prince's shoulder in the medal just illustrated seem to identify this example combined with Anne's portrait with the specimen described on p. 389 of the first volume of *Medallic Illustrations* as No. 242 which is unsigned, rather than with the signed medal No. 241, and

<sup>1</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 382, No. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 314, No. 135. The *Cujus Est* medal.

<sup>3</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 369, No. 213. The capture of Douay was effected in June, 1710. The medal was authorized on December 13th of the same year, to be sold at £10, at 15s. and 5s. in gold, silver and copper.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Medals illustrative of the Abdication of King James the Second*, by Sir Henry Ellis, p. 6, No. 43, printed in 1833, and kindly lent to me by Mr. W. J. Webster.

<sup>5</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, pp. 388-9, Nos. 241-2.

we can only say that this combination of busts is of early eighteenth century issue, but not prior to 1712, and that it is probably the work of a copyist, but may even be due to Roettier himself and may have been contemporaneous with his presentment of Princess Louisa—the artist casting the reverse portraying Anne from Croker's original.

Another still rarer badge also in my own collection, known, I believe, in pewter only, combines a head of Anne with another member of the Stuart family, namely, her grandfather Charles I., and was probably made about the time of the Queen's death to revive the loyalty of the people to the exiled House as against that of Hanover.



PEWTER BADGE OF CHARLES I. AND ANNE. BUSTS AS *MED. ILL.*, VOL. I, P. 355, NO. 216, AND *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 400, NO. 257.

This badge is approximately dated by the fact that Anne's bust is taken from the Peace-of-Utrecht Medal and cannot therefore have been cast before 1713.

Another small medallion insisting on this relationship is illustrated below from the collection in the British Museum, but this by its



BADGE OF CHARLES I. AND ANNE. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 383, NO. 233.

likeness to the rejected guinea of 1702 bespeaks an early assertion of Anne's claim to the throne in right of her descent from her grandfather rather than by the will of Parliament.

Yet one more curiosity may be mentioned, a copper badge, made by the combination of two heart-shaped pieces of rough execution. The design bears a doubtful political significance, for on the one side we see a thistle, a ship and the map of Scotland, with the words "I flourish," whilst the Queen is depicted on the other, with the crown poised above, but not upon, her head and the enigmatical phrase, "*If you please.*" Whether the inscription should be read, as suggested in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, as "I, Scotland, flourish, if you, Anne, please to favour my cause," or whether the wish expressed is that Anne



ANNE, A JACOBITE BADGE. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 381, NO. 231.

should abdicate and hand over the kingdom to her brother, or on her deathbed declare him her heir, it is hard to say. To me, it appears that James in the form of the Scottish emblem offers to sail across the sea and reside in the heart of his kingdom, saying that the thistle, the well-known badge of country, will flourish and he will reign in Scotland, if the country please to lift the crown from the head of Anne. Be this as it may, it is clear that such curious little pieces were intended for distribution in connection with a Jacobite invasion—perhaps those in which James took an actual part, in 1708 and 1715.

The fact that Anne had no surviving children contributed to the exile's hopes for a peaceful succession, hopes which were only dispelled at the Queen's death. In the interval we find Anne providing work for noted Jacobites, amongst others; for Antonio Verrio, the old servant of Charles II., who was also "Chief Painter to his late Mat<sup>e</sup> King James

2nd up to Xmas 1688,"<sup>1</sup> at "a salary of £200 pr Añn."<sup>2</sup> His name appears often in the *Treasury Papers*, and we notice payments for work performed in the private oratory at Windsor, also arrears for paintings at Hampton Court,<sup>3</sup> and his requirements come before us still more frequently in the manuscript account books of 1702-3 at Danny, to which, by the kindness of their owner, Colonel W. H. Campion, I have been allowed frequent access. This artist was so fortunate sometimes as to receive money in advance towards his expenses, and we read under date January 15th, 1702-3, "For Seigr. Verrio on acc<sup>t</sup> of his painting in the great Staircase at Windsor Castle 200<sup>l</sup>" and again on the following 27th of March, £100, whilst the payment in full was completed with £300 more on November 5th.<sup>4</sup>

I cannot pause to give many extracts from the lists of fees contained in these manuscripts, such as £2,000 a year to the Duchess of Marlborough as "Groom of the Stole and 1<sup>st</sup> Lady of the Bed Cha," £1,000 each to her ten subordinate ladies-in-waiting, £500 to Abigail Hill and three other women of the bedchamber, and £300 respectively to the six maids of honour. There are various entries of payments made to the Duchess for the Privy Purse, to the Duke as "Ma<sup>r</sup> General of ye Ordenance;" and one small item referring to our particular branch of finance reads: "To Isaac Newton Esqre, Ma<sup>r</sup> and Worker of Her Mat<sup>ys</sup> Mint upon Acco<sup>t</sup> for the Use and Service of the Same Mint, vizt., Out of Coynage Duty 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1702—256. 3. 11<sup>d</sup>."

From the point of view of Anne's desire to beautify her various

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiii, No. 91.

<sup>2</sup> According to Walpole, Anne renewed this pension of £200 a year to Verrio for life, because his eyesight failed whilst he was at work for her at Whitehall. See *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. ii, p. 121. The portrait of the artist painted by himself and illustrated, facing p. 117 of Wornum's edition of the above, depicts him in glasses.

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xiii, p. 268, November 4th, 1702.

<sup>4</sup> Verrio was one of the few artists who, by persistence, always obtained his money, and these prices are as nothing compared to those paid him for decorations at Windsor during the lifetime of Charles II. See Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 119. Nevertheless, many payments are chronicled in the year 1702 for work done, and often money on account is set down in the *Treasury Minutes*, T. 29, vol. xiii, pp. 17, 57, 64, 74, 84, 120, and 187.

abodes, we may quote from these manuscripts the evidence of her employment of Christopher Wren, who besides his £45 12s. 6d. as "Surv<sup>r</sup> General of her Ma<sup>s</sup> Works" had £66 13s. 4d. as Clerk of the Works. Thomas Highmore, it is true, only received £10 yearly as Sergeant Painter, but this office, in spite of its high-sounding title, was connected more with the decoration of carriages and barges than with portraiture. Grinling Gibbon, here spelt Grimling Gibbons, had a regular salary of £27 7s. 6d. as Master-Carver, and special entries are here for particular services. The sum of £38 paid to "Mr. Cousens in full for Gilding the pipes and Carved worke of ye Organs of her Ma<sup>ts</sup> Chappell Roy<sup>n</sup> in Windsor Castle" on November 12th, 1703, supplies a date for the completion of his order, if not any reliable information as to the total expense, seeing we know not how much money he had already in hand. On December 24th, 1703, we find £258 14s. 6d. laid down as the total charge "For new making and planting the Coach Court at Kensington into a Garden, cleaning the Mudd out of ye Cann<sup>n</sup> there and raising w<sup>th</sup> Earth and new Laying with Turf severall walks."

But we must turn to the portraiture of Anne for a moment before leaving the subject of these manuscripts, and note with interest the item: "To Queen's picture set with Diamonds to Count Forger, Envoy from ye Emperour £1,000" and we wish that some details were supplied as to whether this gift took the form of a miniature or a medal.<sup>1</sup> The most frequent presentation was a ring, and several such, at sums varying from £300 to £400, were provided for less important visitors, the total paid to "Sir Stephen Evans, Knt. Her Maty's Jeweller" on January 8th, 1702-3, for these trifles being £2,650. The list of envoys mentioned, suggests congratulatory visits on Anne's accession or

<sup>1</sup> In the time of James I., the usual presentation appears to have taken the form of a gold medal and chain, see Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i, p. 606; and no fewer than 50 such gifts are noted in one year in Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer during the Reign of James I.*, pp. 299 to 301. Nevertheless medallion portraits with attachments of this kind are very rare, but their intrinsic value probably condemned them to the melting pot under Charles I. It is, however, noticeable that under Anne hardly any such medals with loops for suspension exist, a finger ring having superseded the fashion.

coronation, and possibly memorial rings on King William's death, for the custom of presenting these was at its height, and it was quite usual to make special bequests for this object. On the death of Samuel Pepys in 1703, for instance, 123 persons are mentioned to whom such keepsakes were to be given.<sup>1</sup> The mourning rings, worn by the ladies of her household in memory of Anne herself, took the form—not of the royal portrait, the favourite type of presentation in the days of Charles I.—but of a lock of the Queen's beautiful chestnut hair, which at the time of her death was slightly tinged with grey, set in a heart-shaped crystal surmounted by a jewelled crown.<sup>2</sup> Queen Anne, indeed, made little use of miniatures as gifts, but possibly this was owing to the fact that during her reign few artists specially excelled in this branch of painting. Although of the more able miniaturists of her uncle Charles II's court, some still survived, such as Laurence Cross, we look in vain for the masterly touch of a Samuel Cooper. There were indeed enamellists—I may name the younger Petitot, whose portrait of Anne is in the Duke of Portland's collection, whilst of lesser fame is Charles Boit, who portrayed her with her husband, and who attempted the difficult process of producing enamels on an unusually large scale.<sup>3</sup> I may call attention to his pupil, Christian Zincke, who, arriving in England in 1706, soon surpassed his master in skill: but on the whole the smaller forms of portraiture were suffering a temporary eclipse in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Anne's little pictures, however, and those of her brother James, are better than the miniatures of her nephew, Prince Charles, who was very poorly portrayed in the '45, a period which, unfortunately for his admirers, was just too early in the eighteenth century for this art to attain its zenith in Cosway, the Plimers, and their compeers.<sup>4</sup> Cameo portraits modelled in wax were half a century later popularized by James Tassie's invention of reproductions in

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix to *Memoirs of Pepys*, vol. v, p. 479, ed. 1828, where the list is given of the persons to whom rings were given, 16 at 10s., 62 at 15s. and 45 at £1 each.

<sup>2</sup> *Strickland*, vol. viii, p. 554.

<sup>3</sup> *Walpole*, vol. ii, pp. 250 and 251.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Cosway, Nathaniel Plimer, James Nixon, Ozias Humphreys, John Smart and several other eminent miniaturists were born in the years between 1740 and 1760.

vitreous paste, but at the time under consideration were somewhat rare. There is, however, a finished waxen medallion at Welbeck Abbey representing Anne in a helmet, resembling exactly that worn by William III. in the puncheon, which I ventured in our volume IX, on page 270, to attribute tentatively to James Roettier. We do not know whether the Roettier family prepared their medal-dies originally, as did the brothers Simon, by a preliminary waxen sketch. If this was their method, we may perhaps believe that this medallion was intended by John Roettier for some medallic purpose.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes we meet with the work of inferior artists who represent the Queen in a rough and ready style, and fairly characteristic are some little portraits such as an enamelled watch in the Franks Collection in the British Museum. Inartistic although it be, we like the familiar simplicity in the lack of jewels,—saving a few small clasps and the almost inevitable crown,



SILVER SEAL BEARING THE BUST OF QUEEN ANNE.

which relieves the darkness of her chestnut hair. The face of Anne was seldom used by her subjects in personal adornment, but there are keepsakes in which the Queen's bust takes a prominent part, such as seals, snuff-boxes, and small cases for counters, which, not unknown under previous sovereigns, became quite common under Anne.

ENGLISH COUNTER-BOX OF 1703 AND COUNTER. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 413, NO. 280.

<sup>1</sup> John Roettier, as we know, was working for Anne at the time of his death in 1703. His son James Roettier predeceased him in 1698.



Of no great beauty at the best, some of these little keepsakes and their contents were executed abroad and bear the letters NU for Nuremberg: whilst others, as that just illustrated, are of rather better workmanship, and have the English hall-mark.<sup>1</sup> The jettons are mere



COUNTER-BOX MARKED NU AND COUNTER, *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 413, NO. 278.

clichés, fragile, and no doubt at the time of issue, cheap mementoes of the accession or coronation, but most of those made by Lazarus Gottlieb Lauffer<sup>2</sup> and his school are really too ugly for illustration, whilst the



COIN WEIGHT OF QUEEN ANNE.

portraits on the coin weights are a disgrace to their era. The counters fulfilled a duty in being of daily use, for every evening was consecrated to play.

Far more artistic are the snuff-boxes with which we associate the name of John Obrisset, whether Frenchman or Irishman by extraction remains in doubt, for little that is definite is known about this artist.<sup>3</sup> He revived the method of stamping softened horn employed in the time of Anne's grandfather by an Englishman,

<sup>1</sup> The counter-box illustrated bears the Exeter hall-mark of 1703, the assay office of that city having been re-established in 1701, after an interval of a few years, during which provincial offices were abolished. See *Connoisseur*, September, 1914, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> L. G. Lauffer worked at Nuremberg in the early part of the eighteenth century. Several artists of the name flourished in that city.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that his usual signature is O.B. is suggestive that the name was the Irish O'Brisset; he, however, occasionally signed Obrisset in full, and it was not unusual for an artist to sign his work with the first two letters of his surname.

John Osborn, or adapted that of Müller, Brunner, and other foreigners who, in the time of William and Mary, had made draughtsmen and



COUNTERS OF QUEEN ANNE. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, PP. 413-14, NOS. 279 AND 281.

embossed portraits on wood by means of dies. Obrisset produced attractive plaques and box-lids in tortoiseshell, occasionally embellishing his backgrounds with piqué work, as in a specimen in the author's collection. He also obtained variety by making at times the entire top of his boxes in silver, or casting in this metal a bust, as in the illustration given below—a half-length or even an equestrian figure in



LID OF SNUFF-BOX BY OBRISSET, SILVER ON SHELL.

fairly high relief, and applying it to the shell. He usually copied well-known medals for this purpose, and in type his busts mostly recall Croker's large Union medal,<sup>1</sup> and one on the taking of Lille, here illustrated, and ordered on December 15th, 1708.

<sup>1</sup> *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 298, No. 115. See our last volume, illustration facing p. 264.



MEDAL ON THE TAKING OF LILLE, 1708. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 338, NO. 169.

An interesting leaden medallion marked by Obrisset, with his familiar signature, O.B., is decorated with the bust of Anne on one side and, upon the other, with an emblematic design of a winged and



LEAD MEDALLION BY OBRISSET IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, p. 299, NO. 117.

crowned heart, pierced by sceptres in saltire. It was perhaps the trial piece for the badge of some Society or for a horn box, intended to commemorate the Union and the peace which should ensue therefrom. One of the snuff-boxes in my collection, bearing this bust, is of much finer workmanship, and examination of unset uniface pieces proves that

the majority were cast and chased, a great variation in finish naturally resulting from this procedure. Of six in my cabinet only two are signed by Obrisset, and both are of the obverse type illustrated above.

Obrisset's chief period of activity lay between 1705 and 1727. Boxes made by him in memory of Drake, with the artist's full name, "John Obrisset, Fecit, 1712," are, in spite of this signature and date, sometimes confusedly thought to be mementoes given by Sir Francis to his admirals in the time of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> Many of his pieces are dated, but curiously enough, boxes, undoubtedly genuine, exist which bear two dates, as may be seen on a snuff-box in the British Museum, which shows us Anne on the one side and George her husband on the other, dated respectively 1705 and 1708, the latter year being that of the Prince's death. Unlike the majority of Obrisset's medallions the portrait of George is different from any known medal, so in default of a prototype it may be held to originate medallically with this artist—being probably taken from a picture at Kensington Palace. That representing Anne, which is of much the same type as another silver box-top and a tortoise-shell plaque in my own collection, although agreeing with the Union medals, like the naval reward accorded to Lampriere of which I have spoken,<sup>2</sup> is of pre-Union date, and all may, of course, like these medals, have been adapted from Kneller's picture, now at Welbeck, and illustrated as the frontispiece to my last article, an oil painting which, as we have seen, set the fashion, as regards the portraiture of the Queen, from the very commencement of her reign.

Anne was devoted to her husband,<sup>3</sup> whose presentments by Dahl,<sup>4</sup> Verrio,<sup>5</sup> Kneller, and other contemporary artists,<sup>6</sup> show us a tall man,

<sup>1</sup> See *Some Minor Arts*, Article on Impressed Horn, by Sir C. Hercules Read, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, pp. 248, 251-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Strickland*, vol. viii, pp. 323-4.

<sup>4</sup> At Kensington Palace.

<sup>5</sup> At Hampton Court Palace.

<sup>6</sup> To Riley, Mr. Collins Baker, in his *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, vol. ii, pp. 18 and 27, attributes the original of the portraits of Prince George until recently catalogued as by Wissing. The example in the National Portrait Gallery to which I referred in our last volume as the work of Wissing is now labelled "after Riley." This artist, on the death of Lely in 1680, shared Kneller's popularity until his own decease in 1691. William Wissing had a considerable vogue about the same time as Riley, but did not so long enjoy it, as he died in 1687.

massive and rather stolid in physiognomy, and somewhat fairer in colouring than his Queen, to whom he was content, quite unlike his late brother-in-law, to play a subordinate part. Of her many children one only survived infancy, the young Duke of Gloucester, a manly little fellow, who had won his way into the heart of William III. by his devotion to warlike games, and the resolution with which he battled with his own delicacy of constitution. Curiously enough, no medal, so far as we are aware, records the incidents of his short life. He was born on July 24th, 1689, created a Knight of the Garter on January 6th, 1695-6, by his uncle, who hoped in him to find a successor to his mind, but he died on July 30th, 1700, five days after his eleventh birthday. The little Prince thus predeceased both uncle and father, and Anne, left on the death of George in October, 1708, a childless widow in her 44th year, disregarded the advice of Parliament to marry again in the hope of giving an heir to the kingdom. To the early demise of little Gloucester we may attribute the silence of the medallists, for during the greater part of King William's reign the Mint officials were fully occupied with the coinage, and the influx of medals under Anne, after 1706, was, as we have seen, owing to the stagnation in coining of the succeeding years—when neither gold nor silver money issues were needed.

The child with his regular features is brought before us by Huysmans at Hampton Court Palace,<sup>1</sup> and in another portrait by Godfrey Kneller at Kensington Palace. He is noticeable for his fair curls,<sup>2</sup> fairer than the majority of the Stuarts, whose auburn hair had assumed an almost dark chestnut tint on the head of his mother. When herself a child, Anne had been less attractive than her sister Mary, and her dull brown locks—short and straight—contrast unfavourably

<sup>1</sup> This picture, No. 214, at Hampton Court Palace was attributed in the catalogue to Lely, but this artist died in 1680, some nine years before the birth of the Prince. Mr. Collins Baker, in vol. i of his *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, p. 219, suggests that it is a late work of Jacob Huysmans, dating the picture approximately 1695, the last year of this artist's life.

<sup>2</sup> Another and earlier picture by Kneller hangs at Hampton Court, but in this a wrap nearly covers the child's head. The hair in a miniature at the British Museum is so faded that it looks almost white.



ANNE AS PRINCESS, BY KNELLER. NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

*Photograph by Emery Walker.*



with the latter's dark reddish curls in a striking picture at Ditchley,<sup>1</sup> and hold out no promise of the luxuriant tresses of later years.<sup>2</sup> Lely, the painter of her childhood, was dead when Anne came to the throne, but she was frequently painted by Kneller with success, and to Michael Dahl we owe one of the most pleasing pictures of her, in which we are again struck by the charming simplicity of her dress and pose.<sup>3</sup> Dahl was not so renowned an artist as Kneller, and we do not see him at his best in another portrait of Anne and her little boy, judging by the copy, No. 325, catalogued as "after Dahl" at the National Portrait Gallery—nevertheless there is a certain grace about it, in which this Queen was not lacking. She was of middle stature with small bones, well-formed limbs and good features; the weakness of her eyes, from which she suffered even as a child, and her ever increasing obesity as years advanced, being her chief defects. We see her well portrayed whilst still in her youth, as Princess, by an unknown artist, No. 1,674 in the National Portrait Gallery. In the same collection as No. 1,616 hangs the original of our accompanying plate, a more recent acquisition of great attraction and a splendid example both of colouring and technique, which must have been painted shortly before Anne's accession. It was purchased with a traditional attribution to the hand of Kneller, but Mr. Collins Baker suggests an alternative in Dahl.<sup>4</sup> Whether to Kneller or to Dahl is

<sup>1</sup> In the collection of Viscount Dillon, at Ditchley, where this picture is catalogued as by Lely. Mr. Collins Baker, however, on p. 213, vol. i, of his *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, expresses the belief that it is by Huysmans, to whom a very similar portrait group of the Duke and Duchess without the children is catalogued at Clumber. It is, however, noticed that at Euston another version of the Clumber picture is attributed to Lely. Jacob Huysmans, according to the latest authorities, was born about 1633, and died in London in 1696.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Collins Baker dates the Ditchley group "circa 1663," but Mary was born in April, 1662, and Anne in February, 1664–5, so that judging from the apparent ages of the two little girls, the picture cannot have been finished earlier than 1669 or 1670.

<sup>3</sup> At Kinnel Park in the collection of Colonel Henry Hughes. Michael Dahl, a Swede, was born about 1659, came to England in 1682, on a two years' visit, and finally settled in London in about 1688–9. He became a fashionable artist, the rival of Kneller, and died in London, in October, 1743.

<sup>4</sup> See *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, vol. ii, p. 97.



due this charming portrait, it certainly possesses the marked stateliness and grace which Sir Godfrey usually imparted to his pictures, and Anne was perhaps fortunate in inheriting his services from the courts of her uncle, father, and brother-in-law. In the early years of William and Mary's reign, he had shared with John Riley the £200 a year paid to the "Chief Painters," but on the death of the latter, Kneller became "sole principle painter." It appears, however, from a report on the position of affairs at the time of Anne's accession, that "his name upon regulating the Establish<sup>mt</sup>," in 1690, had been "left out of the same." This mistake was not at once rectified, but the manuscript note further informs us that "in June, 1695, he obtained his Mat<sup>t</sup> Warrant under the Sign Manuall for Inserting him on that Establishm<sup>t</sup> at the Pd Salary of 200<sup>li</sup> p ann, w<sup>h</sup> was accordingly done and the Payment made to him to X<sup>mas</sup> 1700, as are the rest of the Servants payable there, together w<sup>th</sup> the Allownc<sup>ce</sup> of 50<sup>li</sup> for every picture drawn at whole Length by vertue of Lord Cham<sup>blins</sup> Warr<sup>t</sup> from time to time as Occasion hath required ever since."<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Anne had finely modelled hands, a characteristic often mentioned by her historians, is specially emphasized in one of her portraits by Kneller, and it is traditionally stated, as Miss Strickland informs us, that the artist selected the pose—the Queen holding the George attached to the Garter ribbon about her neck—because it gave him "an opportunity of painting the most beautiful hand in England."<sup>2</sup> In the fine picture in the National Portrait Gallery reproduced opposite our page 278, we notice that the position of the arm again shows off this beauty to the best advantage.

The royal touch, that is, touching for the King's Evil, to which so much virtue was imputed, has formed of late the theme of an important contribution to the literature of numismatics from the pen of Dr. Raymond Crawford,<sup>3</sup> and a paper on this subject which I read before this Society in May, 1914, will shortly be published in our

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxiii, No. 91, dated by the calendarer "about 1702 or later."

<sup>2</sup> *Queens of England*, vol. viii, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *The King's Evil*, published in 1911.

*Journal*, so that I will not enlarge greatly upon its history here, excepting in the light it very specially casts on the Queen's character. If Anne continued a practice—always fatiguing and at times distressing—the explanation must have lain partly in the obligation to insist on her hereditary gift, and partly in her inherent kindness of heart, for even Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, admitted that she was “religious without affectation.”<sup>1</sup> The rare quality of gratitude was noticeable in Anne's conduct—excepting towards her unfortunate father, and even in this one lapse from the path of charity we find evidence of a certain repentance after her accession in her kindness to those who had befriended James. Those who appealed to her in the name of services rendered to him met with mercy at her hands, and one such petition relating to touch-pieces is of sufficient interest to justify quotation here.<sup>2</sup> It is addressed to “The Queen's most Excell<sup>t</sup> Majestie” by James Graham, “late keeper of the privy purse to your Royal Father” and states that whilst he held that office “and always before, the charge of the healing was paid out of the same, but the King finding it arises to a greater Sum than formerly was pleas'd some time before he left the Kingdom to order a Privy Seal for that p<sup>ticular</sup> Service, W<sup>ch</sup> past in yo<sup>r</sup> Mats name and upon w<sup>h</sup> was imprest 1250<sup>li</sup>.” Graham proceeds to explain that there is “now a Distringus” against him “in the Sherrif of Westmoreland” for this money, and that his brother who “had the care of that Matt<sup>r</sup>” has “attended his Royal Master into France and cannot Return without yr Maj<sup>tie</sup>'s Licience, so it is impossible for yr Petition<sup>r</sup> to render a regular account thereof in y<sup>r</sup> Majestie's Exchequer.” He therefore prays “a privy Seal may pass for the aforesaid sume” or that “the proress may be stayd by a noli pross till his Brother can give in his accts.”<sup>3</sup> The case was arranged by a Treasury minute,

<sup>1</sup> Inscription on the Blenheim Statue, illustrated in our last volume facing p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxxv, No. 82. For earlier notice of this affair see *ibid.*, vol. lxxxiii, No. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel James Graham or Grahme, as he more commonly wrote it, was the owner of Levens, in Westmoreland, and was Privy Purse to King James II. He was the second brother of Richard Grahme, Lord Preston, Keeper of the Wardrobe to the same King, and with Fergus, a third brother, was the son of Sir George Graham, of Netherby in Cumberland, gentleman of the Horse to James I., and a devoted adherent of Charles I. The

which proves that Anne's personal attention was given to this request. "Red to the Q. 19<sup>th</sup> Apr. 1703. 1250<sup>li</sup> Imprested to be discharged by Tally" and the interesting manuscripts at Danny supply the information that in the year "1703 10 Dec<sup>r</sup> there was paid to James Grahme Esqr as of her Mats free gift & Roy<sup>ll</sup> bounty to him 1250. Mem<sup>d</sup> this was granted with Intent to discharge the like S<sup>um</sup>e and Imprested at the Exchequer to the s<sup>d</sup> Mr. Grahme in ye Reign of King James 2 for healing medalls."

It is with some satisfaction that we see Anne discharging her father's debts for healing pieces, nor was she niggardly concerning the expense of her own, for she not only herself always made use of gold for distribution, a metal discarded by James II. in the poverty of his exile, but reverted to a larger size than were the tokens he bestowed. Her touchpieces are not uncommon, which is somewhat strange, for



ANNE'S TOUCHPIECE. *MED. ILL.*, VOL II., P. 242, NO. 28.

her bad health prevented her from holding constant receptions, and we read principally of private healings comprising at most some thirty persons.<sup>1</sup> She did, however, also receive the sick in public, occasionally even 200 patients at a time, as had been done by her uncle Charles.

brothers were involved in various Jacobite conspiracies in 1690-92, and Colonel Graham was again in trouble in 1696. Lord Preston was arrested and condemned to death, but reprieved, and he died in England in 1695. It is therefore clear that the brother to whom James refers was Fergus, who was in exile with James II., having fled the country soon after the accession of William and who had not obtained permission to return at a much later period, that is, in 1709. Colonel James Graham also escaped to France and received a pardon, was again proclaimed, surrendered, was admitted to bail, and finally committed for a short time to the Fleet Prison, but he afterwards returned to Levens and took the oaths to William's Government in 1701, and was even considered likely to obtain an appointment under the Crown in 1704. See *Colonel James Graham of Levens*, by Jocelyn Bagot, and Luttrell's *Diary*, vols. ii, iv, and v, at various dates.

<sup>1</sup> Oldmixon's *History of England*, p. 302.

She was the last of the reigning Stuarts to perform this ceremony, although her brother and his sons in their exile continued the practice. It is even said that Charles Edward during his adventurous visit to Scotland in the '45 exercised the royal privilege, although during the lifetime of his father he had not assumed the title of King,<sup>1</sup> and going yet further, the left-handed scion of the House of Stuart, the Duke of Monmouth, claimed to possess the same gift.<sup>2</sup>

We commented in our last volume upon Anne's charity in giving to the church the firstfruits and tenths due to the crown,<sup>3</sup> a bounty for which to this day many a poor parish owes gratitude to "good Queen Anne," and even the Duchess of Marlborough, who was not always fair to her mistress, calls attention during the time of her management to the smallness of "the privy purse, the yearly allowance for which was £20,000, not half the sum allowed in King William's time," and the amount the Queen disbursed out of it for the good of others.<sup>4</sup> It is indeed calculated that the average of Anne's yearly household expenses reached but £83,710 12s. 0d., being considerably lower than those of her father and brother-in-law.<sup>5</sup> Ailesbury speaks of her as "that excellent and pious Queen, a princess of high vertue, merit and sweetness of temper,"<sup>6</sup> and tells us that she "was endowed with great good nature and most charitable principals,"<sup>7</sup> and that during her reign she shed not the blood of one single person save that of common felons and suchlike."<sup>8</sup> He remarks that on coming to the throne she won the

<sup>1</sup> *The King's Evil*, by Raymond Crawford, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> The Duchess, however, states that "the allowance was augmented to 26,000 two years after I left office." Sarah resigned in January, 1710-11. See *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 282. Her assertion is corroborated by an autograph document under date January 8th, 1712-13, signed by Anne and countersigned by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford—this was sold at the Red Cross Sale at Christie's, on Monday, April 26th, 1915, lot 1516—authorizing the payment to Lady Masham, of £26,000 "for the service of our Privy Purse and for Healing Medalls."

<sup>5</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xii, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 649.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 505.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 649.

esteem of both Lords and Commons, for "this good Princess had a grateful heart, and she had fresh in memory the merit those had of both houses towards her, that stuck by her on their proposing that separate maintenance of seventy thousand pounds yearly when she fell in disgrace with her sister the Queen and her brother-in-law."<sup>1</sup>

That Anne was generous to those who appealed to her is well known, and have we not given ample evidence of this?<sup>2</sup> But in her private expenses she was most moderate, and when the Duchess of Marlborough, who was no eulogist, caused a statue to be erected to her memory by Rysbrach, at Blenheim, she vaunted in the inscription on the pedestal the liberality with which Anne herself contributed £100,000 out of her Civil List towards the war expenses, that the burden might not fall upon her people.<sup>3</sup> Even upon such an event as her coronation, we find the estimate of proposed expenses lower than that of her sister, but it is fair to explain that in the case of the latter the disbursement had been apparently made to include some past debts of the supplanted King James, which the creditors despaired of calling in by any other means. It is really amusing to record Lord Montagu's explanation on being asked the reason of a mistaken calculation put forth. He had been required to estimate "what the charge of the late King's funerall might come to and the charge of her present Mat<sup>r</sup> Coronation both to be pformed in less than a moneth." He had at first understated the one by upwards of £2,700, and overstated the other by almost as great a sum,<sup>4</sup> and he explains that "the Estimate for ye funerall, as neer as could then be judged, was like to amount to 3,500<sup>li</sup>, it being then

<sup>1</sup> Ailesbury's *Memoirs*, p. 532. At the beginning of the new reign Anne had a pension of £30,000 a year charged on the Civil List, besides money settled upon her on her marriage. A motion was brought forward in December, 1689, for raising the grant to £70,000, and after some debate in the House of Commons the matter was decided by the grant of an annuity of £50,000 on the Civil List.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, pp. 261 and 281-2.

<sup>3</sup> The statue, which we illustrated in our last volume, see *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 212, shows the figure of the Queen, as elaborately dressed as the Mistress of the Robes could wish upon any occasion of rejoicing, and is not unlike the much reprobated statue by Bird.

<sup>4</sup> *MS. Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxix, No. 100.

designed from the Prince's Chamber next ye House of Commons." It being, however, decided to conduct the procession from Kensington Palace, which had to be hung with black,—the Queen providing "a Chariot that cost 300<sup>li</sup>," and other mourning—the expenses must be considered of items "not thought of before, which has neer doubled the first Estimate which now amounts to £6,268. 07. 6½."

Here follows his excuse, namely : "The Coronation Estimate was judged accord to ye last Provisions about Ten Thousand pounds. But there being then Several Tradsmen in the Office put in by Ld. Preston,<sup>1</sup> who had Grt Sūmes owing to them, so put down higher prices and they since discontinued, more care was now taken and it now amounts to 7439<sup>li</sup>. 8<sup>s</sup>. 5½<sup>d</sup>."

On the authority of the Duchess of Marlborough we have it that in nine years, including these coronation expenses, Queen Anne spent but £32,050 in the office of the robes, that is, in personal matters ; and the assistance she extended to soldiers and sailors, wounded in her service on land and sea, is all brought before us in other contemporary accounts.<sup>2</sup> Besides these natural calls upon her purse, "she paid out of her Civil List many pensions granted in former Reigns which have



PEACE OF UTRECHT MEDAL. *MED. ILL.*, VOL. II, P. 399, NO. 256.

<sup>1</sup> For Lord Preston see note 3 on pp. 281–2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Danny Account Books.

since," wrote Sarah Marlborough, "been thrown upon the Publick."<sup>1</sup> Artistic she was not, but we may rejoice that many minor arts flourished in her day. The era was one not likely to be forgotten, and if Marlborough's victories were commemorated by the medals which I have placed before you, Anne's artists were equally employed in celebrating the peace which followed before the Queen's death in the track of war, and one of the most agreeable of these, I here set before you.<sup>2</sup> In the eyes of Anne it was the Union with Scotland of which she had a right to feel proud; and it was the conclusion of the war, the Peace of Utrecht, unsatisfactory although it was in many respects, which crowned her last year with happiness.

As is so often the case, the country flourished during the time of war, stimulated to effort by the issues at stake, and the first decade of the eighteenth century brings a galaxy of brilliant names before us in literature and in science, and the era of the journalist had commenced. Art there was, of a certain type, and although the immediate circle of Anne was one of dullness and of incessant intrigue, the personal nullity of the Queen did not prevent the frequenters of her court from taking a part in the brilliant talk of the coffee-houses, whilst the connoisseur found congenial gossip at the tea-table—a newly discovered delight with its finely modelled silver and fragile cups and saucers—the table itself a marvel perhaps of the lacquerer's handicraft. The love of bric-à-brac in the reign of Anne rivalled the furore now so noticeable, and a scoffing letter in *The Spectator* of February 12th, 1712–13, might be that of a writer of to-day, in his description of a room "planted every corner with such heaps of China that," thus complains our satirist, "I am obliged to move about my own home with the greatest caution for fear of hurting some of our brittle furniture." Anne's age was the age of the coffee-house—the age of conversation; but the Queen herself was no conversationalist, and to Sarah Marlborough we owe the remark whilst comparing her to her sister Mary that "it was indeed impossible

<sup>1</sup> Inscription on the base of the statue at Blenheim.

<sup>2</sup> This medal, *Med. Ill.*, vol. ii, p. 399, No. 256, is therein stated to be unknown in gold, but it figures as such in Croker's List at £20.

they should be very agreeable companions to each other, because Queen Mary grew weary of anybody who would not talk a great deal, and the Princess was so silent that she rarely spoke more than was necessary to answer a question."<sup>1</sup>

But if Anne was a decidedly stupid woman, her reign will still remain great in the annals of history, and if the last of our Stuart monarchs had not the artistic or lovable qualities of her grandfather, Charles I., or the brilliant powers of her uncle, Charles II., she yet shared the love their people bestowed on them, and they revived in her honour the title given to the first wife of Richard II., so that she lives in our memories as "Good Queen Anne."<sup>2</sup>

This is not the time to speak of the medallion portraiture of the three remaining princes of this line ; I have already treated in our volumes of the coins and medals issued by Prince James, bearing the title of "Jacobus III. and VIII.," and I may perhaps be some day permitted to write a slight sketch of the Jacobite mementoes issued by Bonnie Prince Charlie and his less romantic brother, Cardinal York, but although these last scions of the House may reign in our hearts, we cannot technically include them in the *Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals*.

<sup>1</sup> *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> This epithet, originally applied to Anne of Bohemia, first wife of Richard II., was bestowed upon the Stuart Queen in consequence of her benefactions to the clergy. See Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. i, p. 614.









GENERAL SIR THOMAS WILLSHIRE, BART., G.C.B., 1789-1862.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT OF FOOT, NOW  
THE FIRST BATTALION OF THE SOUTH  
STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.

BY MAJOR WILLIAM J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.



HAVE the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Society a small but interesting collection of Peninsular and other medals of men belonging to the above regiment, namely :—

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

William Pye.—Five bars, Busaco, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, St. Sebastian.

Philip Shadwell.—Three bars, Badajos, Vittoria, St. Sebastian.

Sergeant E. Stubbings.—Three bars, Salamanca, Vittoria, St. Sebastian.

William Rudge.—Three bars, Vimiera, Corunna, St. Sebastian.

William Boulter.—Three bars, Vimiera, Corunna, Salamanca.

Sergeant J. Femey.—Two bars, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

A. Fitzgibbon.—One bar, Lucknow.

REGIMENTAL AND FOREIGN.

A regimental silver medal.—This is from the Hastings Irwin collection and the only example known.

French.—Valeur et Discipline, 1852.

Turkish.—Order of the Medjidie, 1852, fourth and fifth classes.

VOL. XI.

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The Thirty-eighth Regiment of Foot was raised in 1702, and called Colonel Luke Lillingston's Regiment of Foot. Its uniform was scarlet with facings yellow. No history of the regiment has been written, and for the few notes I have put together, I have read the interesting memoir of General Sir Thomas Willshire, Bart., G.C.B., by Commander C. R. Low, I.N., which appeared in the *United Service Magazine* in 1879. The regiment was first called the Thirty-eighth Foot in 1751 and the First Staffordshire in 1872, its sobriquet being "The pump and tortoise." The regimental collection of its medals was at the date these notes were written with the regiment in South Africa. General Willshire's father and two brothers were in the regiment.

In 1789 the Thirty-eighth left Nova Scotia for Plymouth, and was in Ireland in 1790, where it remained for a few years.

On the 22nd of March, 1794, it shared in the capture of Martinique, in 1796 in the capture of St. Lucie on the 14th of April, and again in the second capture of the same place on the 14th of May, and in the capture of Trinidad in 1797. It returned to England in 1800, and was quartered at Lichfield. In 1804 a second battalion was added, and in 1805 it proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, where the colony surrendered on the 15th of January, 1806.

In August, 1806, it sailed thence for La Plata. On June the 28th Buenos Ayres surrendered to General Beresford and Sir Home Popham, and in January, 1807, the combined forces stormed the town of Monte Video.

On the 5th of July, 1807, in the attack on Buenos Ayres, the regiment at 6.30 a.m. moved towards its left, and the 87th advanced straight to its front, approaching the strong Port of the Retiro and the Plaza de Toros, and after a most vigorous and spirited attack, in which the Thirty-eighth suffered much from grape-shot and musketry, its gallant commander, Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Achmuty, possessed himself of the Port, taking 32 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners. Captain Willshire and his three sons were in this engagement, and the youngest, John, an ensign, was severely wounded. For this the latter received £25 from the Patriotic Fund.

The regiment then returned to England, thence crossed to Ireland, and after a short time embarked for the Peninsula from Cork on the 16th of June, 1808. Upon landing, it was brigaded with the Fifth and Ninth under Major-General Rowland Hill, and served with the Ninth throughout the war. The Thirty-eighth was at Roleia on the 17th of August, and at Vimiera on the 19th, and took part in the battle on the 21st of August, sharing in the famous retreat to Corunna under Sir John Moore.

On the 27th of July, 1809, it was concerned in the ill-fated expedition to Walcheren, where Captain John Willshire died, on the 25th of September, of fever.

In June, 1812, the regiment, 1,100 strong, under the command of Colonel the Honourable, afterwards Major-General Sir, Charles John Greville, K.C.B., brother of the Third Earl of Warwick, again embarked from Cork for the Peninsula.

On that occasion Ensign George Freer, who was then aged 18, writes : " The regiment was most complete, and both as to officers and men an admirable example of a British force . . . I was myself in no way distinguished among them for stature, although I stood 6 feet high, and I conceive Captain Willshire about the same, the company to which I was attached, the Grenadiers, having no man under that height."

The Second Battalion was already in Portugal, and brigaded with the Ninth and the Third Battalions of the First Royals, having taken part in the battle of Busaco on the 27th of September, 1810, under Major-General Leith, and in the siege of Badajos. On its place in the First Brigade of the Fifth Division being taken by the First Battalion, it returned to England in 1813, and was quartered at Winchester.

I will now take up the story from the manuscript diary of Ensign Freer, for which, as previously acknowledged, I am indebted to Commander C. R. Low's Memoir of Sir Thomas Willshire.

DIARY OF ENSIGN GEORGE FREER<sup>1</sup> OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH FOOT.

On leaving Villa Franca we marched at daybreak through the small villages on the main road to Santarem. The villages on the road were mostly devastated, showing too plainly the horrors of war, and the merciless ravages of the French on their retreat to Villa Franca. Here I recollect the impression made on me by beholding a large body of wounded coming to the rear; some with an ear and part of the face shot off, some blinded, some armless, others without legs, all in a miserable plight—not a pleasing sight to men going up to supply their places.

The night dews were here so heavy, that they appeared like falling rain, and I being ill-provided with proper baggage, often found my limbs and body so stiff as scarcely to be able to rise at the sound of the bugle which, to enable us to march as far as possible in the cool of the morning, was usually sounded about 1 or 2 o'clock a.m.

Between this point and Ciudad Rodrigo, some of my men fell dead with sun stroke, so fearful was the heat. We had expected to halt here for a few days, but received orders to proceed after twelve hours' rest. Leaving Rodrigo you have a burning sandy road through an extensive plain, where the sun has not left a sign of vegetation, except wheat, which here it appears as though it were the spontaneous fruit of Nature. For the whole day you see neither man nor his dwelling. We had now bid adieu to sleeping under the "friendly roof" and marched under the burning sun by day, bivouacking at night, our clothes saturated with the heavy dews. Approaching Salamanca you see at the distance of full three leagues its numerous towers and spires, rising, as it were, out of an almost boundless plain, without any part of the city being visible; indeed, so great is the deception that you would imagine you are close to it when, after marching

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

through dust and heat for many hours, you will be told that you are still a league distant from Salamanca. The entrance to the "Learned City" is over a rather handsome bridge of six arches, across the River Tormes, which has in this part a very romantic and beautiful appearance, meandering gently through green fields, vineyards and gardens.

The French had fortified two convents which commanded the bridge and ford of the Tormes. These had been taken a short time before, after a most gallant resistance on the part of the enemy, who had only a handful of men in them. They were now battered down, together with all the houses in their vicinity which could afford any shelter, giving this approach to the city a most ruinous appearance.

Passing the suburbs you enter the city through an ancient arched gateway of Gothic architecture into streets so narrow and bad, that you wonder at so great a promise leading to so poor a performance. The Grand Plaza, however, is a beautiful square, the houses so built as to form piazzas underneath, in which are the principal shops, the hidalgos occupying the houses above. In the rainy season this arrangement is particularly good, for you may in your walk enjoy the air and exercise, without the drawback of being wet to the skin. In rear of this is an open square ornamented in the centre by beautiful fountains. Salamanca had in all fifty-six colleges, halls, and convents, but the French had destroyed twenty-two of their number, although there were still remaining some superb buildings, among them the so-called Irish College, built by Philip II., and by him largely endowed for the education of Roman Catholic priests of that nation.

The cathedral is among the finest buildings in Europe. It has several times been threatened with destruction by the French, but each time 500,000 francs has been extracted for its ransom. The organ has rather a novel, though perhaps a childish feature—whichever stop is touched a figure moves out, apparently playing on the instrument.



When we arrived at Salamanca, after a burning forced march of four leagues and a half in the heat of the day, our men were put into the convent of San Domingo, which the nuns had quitted, the officers occupying the houses near. We remained under arms until dark, when we received orders to join the main body of the army, through a soaking rain for another league and a half that night. Heaven, as though forbidding the blood that was to be shed the next day, showed its anger by the most awful thunder and vivid lightning I ever witnessed. It was about midnight when we arrived at our position, and not a covering had I or my mess-mate, Captain Willshire, from the pitiless storm. The ground we were on had been ploughed, and in one of its furrows we laid ourselves down, a stone composing my pillow. Notwithstanding that the water ran out of the collar of my coat, and out wherever it could find a passage, yet from the fatigues of the day and the buoyancy of a good constitution, I slept as though lying on down . . .

On the 27th Salamanca surrendered. Captain Willshire was twice wounded, but refused to quit the field. Ensign Freer was also wounded. He was by Willshire's side on the 22nd of July and gives the following account of the engagement :—

About 2 o'clock the rising sun foretold the intense heat of the coming day, but also showed us hotter work still—the overcoming of 80,000 men moving in the plains below and ascending the opposite heights. We too were not inactive, but at day-break took up a position along the heights to our right. After manœuvring opposite each other the whole morning, in which generalship on both sides was displayed, about 2 o'clock Marmont made a *faux pas* of which our lynx-eyed commander took advantage, with that celebrated expression, “ Now I have him.” Marmont detached 20,000 men from the left wing of his army, with the intention of cutting off our communication with the main road to Ciudad

Rodrigo. The cavalry of this detachment had gained the Tormes and was beginning to ford it, when the whole detached body was attacked by the Third and Seventh Divisions of the British, while our division, the Fifth, and the Sixth, advanced along the heights at double quick, or rather a hard run, for about 2 miles.

Their [the enemy's] centre was now posted on an eminence in our front, a position much superior to our's, and which seemed inaccessible. Under this height we lay flat on our faces for a quarter of an hour to get our breath after so rapid a movement in the heat of the day, the poor fellows carrying packs, coats, and blankets, besides thirty rounds of ammunition on their backs. We were now so close to the main body of the French that the shot and shell, which they poured upon us in abundance from the heights above, could do us little damage. We were shortly ordered to stand up, and General Leith, who then commanded us, made a flying speech to each regiment as he passed. To us he said, "As for you, Thirty-eighth, I have only to say, behave as you always have done." We then firmly advanced at quick time without firing a shot, having previously loaded under the fire of several howitzers, field-pieces and mortars, together with the fire of all their musketry. I do believe that never were the coolness, the intrepidity, and the bravery, together with the discipline of the British soldier so evidently portrayed as on this occasion.

NOTE.—Since writing the above, I have seen the British soldier engaged on fifteen occasions, but am still of the same opinion.

We marched on with "recovered arms" and fixed bayonets, as on a common field day, till we arrived within about 100 yards from them, and about three parts up the eminence, when "Halt. Fire a volley and Charge," were the orders given. This was done in the finest conceivable manner. The enemy fell in immense numbers and our brave fellows, running up

the rock as though it had been on level ground, cheering the whole way, immediately pressed upon them with the bayonet. They stood for a moment as though prepared to defend themselves but the shock was too great, our bayonets crossed theirs, but our rush was too impetuous to be resisted. We put them into confusion, they began to fly, and we as quickly to pursue. Personal strength and valour had now an opportunity of displaying themselves, for in this *mêlée* they were the only things to which you had to trust. To describe to anyone unaccustomed to scenes of this nature, the one that now presented itself, would be impossible. Here was the athletic, powerful Willshire, pursuing nimble Frenchmen; there a solitary too bold French dragoon, rushing back upon the infantry which pursued him, and horse and rider tumbling headlong from one of our shots.

Here I thought my time had come—two Frenchmen, recovering their courage, came rushing towards me in their bear-skin head-dress, and with bayonets glittering. As the one about 30 yards in front of his companion drew near, I retreated a few yards, my eye intently fixed, not on him, but on the point of his bayonet, at which with my sabre I made a fearful cut and my friend tumbling in upon me, very soon felt the blow transferred to himself. For the other, a Grenadier at my heels soon transfixed him with his bayonet, and with hearty English brogue exclaimed, "Haven't we finished 'em both nicely, Sir?"—Heaps of dead and dying on all sides covered the ground, the enemy's screams mingled with our triumphant shouts; the cries of the wounded, the prayers of the prisoners for mercy, the roar of cannon, the volleys of musketry, all combined, forming a most horrid medley. Several times the enemy strove to re-form but in vain. Their right about this time was turned, and flight became general, when nothing remained for us to do but to cut down and destroy every obstacle. It fell to my lot to take three or four field-pieces which had annoyed us much. This scene of

slaughter and bloodshed continued till eleven at night, when, unable to distinguish friends from foes, we were compelled to desist.

Earlier in the action, while advancing, the village of Arapiles met our centre, and to move either to the right or left would have wrought confusion, when Colonel Greville, calling me by name, said "Take them over the wall"—I had just reached the top with the Grenadiers at my heels, when a nearly spent grape shot struck my left arm and precipitated me backwards. For a second I thought it broken, but on rising, I found, though fearfully lacerated, I was able to proceed. I rushed round the walls, overtook my company, and did my duty throughout the whole day afterwards, binding my arm with my handkerchief to prevent it hanging down. At night, Captain Willshire and myself sat round the watch-fire, recounting the deeds of the day. Some of my company procured raw meal and some bacon, with which a kind of dumpling was improvised, and the fire was made of gun and carriage timber and broken muskets, there being no wood in the vicinity. Some were making dough cakes, putting all the pillage from the Frenchmen's packs into our own camp kettles. They invited us most respectfully to partake of their meal, and with Willshire seated on one pack, and I on another, we enjoyed it as much as the most professed epicure would a venison feast. At length, weary with the exertions of the day, I withdrew some yards, and laying my head on a stone, fell asleep, notwithstanding the pain of my arm, and the dampness of the ground. In the middle of the night I awoke, and the moon shining brightly, I discovered my bedfellows; on one side a dead Frenchman, whose features appeared more ghastly from the shining of the moon; and on the other a wounded Portuguese in a dying state, weltering in his blood and literally biting the dust. I sat up to contemplate the fearful scene around me, the solemn stillness of the midnight hour, the sleeping soldiery, who lay

apparently as motionless as the corpses which covered the ground. These scenes afforded ample scope for thought for one who had so narrowly escaped being among the latter.

At break of day we again commenced our pursuit of the routed enemy, but were unable again to come up with them, as they marched the whole night and passed the River Tormes at Alba de Tormes two hours after daybreak. In our line of march the whole road and on each side of it was covered with dead bodies. The Light Division and German cavalry having harassed the enemy in every direction, the latter in a most successful charge compelled 2,000 of them to lay down their arms. The enemy in passing Alba de Tormes had set fire to two large convents, which were flaming away as we passed through the town. The bridge was now covered with the dead bodies of men and horses, the French having defended this point obstinately during the night.

The regiment entered Madrid on the 13th of August and took part in the unsuccessful siege of the Castle of Burgos, which was raised on the 21st of October.

On the 25th there was a sortie by the garrison, in which Captain Willshire and the Light Companies of the Brigade defended the village and bridge of Muriel. The Thirty-eighth found winter quarters in several villages near Lamego on the Douro. Ensign George Freer continues his *Diary* of the events after the battle of Salamanca as follows :—

At Valladolid Captain Willshire and myself were quartered in the house of a priest with a family, which of course he ought not to have had, a shrewd, sensible man ; and having had connections in England, he had contracted more of our living and manners. His house was furnished more in our fashion than any I had seen, his chairs stuffed and his floors carpeted ; nevertheless, he had adhered to the national custom of having his stable under his sitting room, probably in order to secure



SOME ORDERS AND MEDALS OF GENERAL SIR THOMAS WILLSHIRE, G.C.B.



and defend the horses and mules in dangerous times, when it was needful to fly suddenly.

On the following morning we marched to Cabezon, about three leagues from Valladolid, [where] the sides of the hills flanking the River Douro are covered with vines; and on arrival at Torquemada we learned that the [British] army had raised the siege of Burgos, and was coming down in full retreat. At one o'clock in the morning we marched in order to come up with it in case it was engaged. The enemy was advancing rapidly on our rear, and our being the covering Division, it became necessary to halt in order to check them. Lord Wellington coming up to us at this time blurted out, "They are coming too forward and must be driven back." The General of my Brigade answered, "My Lord, I will take care of that." The French had crossed a river and were advancing up the hill on which we were posted. A dry canal ran parallel to the river at the foot, further than which orders were given not to drive the French, of six-fold number; but the impetuosity of the men charging down hill could not be suppressed, and we drove them through the river up to the mouths of their guns, within 50 yards of which we had a Captain, Forster, killed, being actually cut in two parts by a cannon ball. In retiring through the river we suffered considerably, but gaining the dry canal we kept the enemy from advancing for more than two hours. Whilst in this situation, occupying the dry canal, one of our officers, Major Evens, having a paper in his pocket which contained his own promotion, took it out to view his good fortune, frequently raising his eyes to the bank to watch the course of the enemy till a ball severed his head from his body, and I saw the paper which contained the account of his promotion and a reward for his merits and sufferings, dyed with his blood.

We now regained the hill and joined the main body of the army. The weather now became fearfully rainy, the roads being filled



with water, the ground a sea of mud, on which, having no baggage, every night we lay. We retraced our steps to Cabezon, where we remained two days defending its pass, with harassing night piquets. From these heights the movements of the whole French army, 80,000 men, might be seen. At night we had one pound of beef, which those in good health, meeting round the watchfires, toasted upon ram-rods, and, having no other beverage, took draughts of muddy water, and laid ourselves down to sleep ; my pillow being the old and friendly stone. The weather continued intolerably bad, pouring with incessant rain. On the third day, two hours before daybreak, we again commenced our retreat, marching this day 34 miles, crossing the deepest part of the country, and fording rivers the whole day. Nature was nearly exhausted, I having had but a small portion of biscuit the day before. On the next day's march, while passing through a thick wood, we were surprised to find the French on both our flanks. This compelled a double-quick through the thickest of the forest. On arriving at the camping ground that night I found that my baggage had been taken by the enemy, with the baggage of four others. This circumstance was the more distressing to me, as I had only a pair of worn-out boots, and had now no means of replacing them, so that I literally marched many days with my feet bleeding on the stones. Poor Willshire suffered as much as myself, for his baggage mule was also taken, and the various hardships had brought on an ague and fever. During the day he had gone to bring up another detachment, which, however, had found its way by another route, and suddenly found himself in imminent danger of being made prisoner. He had no alternative but to swim a deep river in order to join our lines, no very pleasant cure for ague and fever, with no change of clothes at night. Such are the delights of a soldier's life.

The day following we were pressed on every side by the over-

whelming numbers of the enemy. In crossing the fords one or more regiments showed their front and defended the pass, whilst the others crossed ; this being done alternately. As soon as a regiment came out of the water it formed, and the one passing through retreated. The enemy at length got several pieces of cannon to annoy us at these fords. Under all this we had marched a distance of four or five and twenty miles, through woods, mire, mud and water, till at length we halted in a wood within cannon shot of the enemy, a narrow river being between us. The recollection of this memorable night will never be erased from my memory. Wearied with the exertions of the day and fasting, having tasted nothing for twenty-four hours, I attempted to sleep standing against a tree, as the ground was thick mud. We had no provisions given out, and at last, nature requiring assistance, I lay down and for a short time was lost in sleep, having procured a canteen on which to lay my head. We had orders to be under arms at one o'clock the next morning, which we were, but owing to the badness of the road and the difficulties to be surmounted in front, it was daylight before we had marched two miles.

This was more tedious than ordinary marching, for we were compelled to keep on our feet, although every five minutes we could only move a few yards.

The next day's march was like the preceding. It rained the whole day and the road was covered with wrecks of all descriptions, artillery, baggage wagons, arms, men, horses and mules. At night we halted on the side of a hill, a pound of meat, half a pound of bread, and two ounces of rice made us for a time forget that we had no friendly covering to save us from the chill night dews and falling rain. Willshire had a large cloak, of which he insisted on my taking part, but it may be guessed this was no luxurious covering for two, each of us being 6 feet high. On the second day after this we offered the enemy battle with our whole force, but as they

did not think proper to accept, we continued our course, till we again reached the heights of St. Christoval, and saw the spires of Salamanca. Here we expected to make a stand, and oppose the hosts and masses which had long been distressing us. We formed batteries along the heights, and prepared to defend ourselves. I was again appointed acting engineer, and was employed in throwing up works to cover a village and a high road leading to our lines. At all hours, day and night, Lord Wellington was on the alert to ascertain personally how matters were progressing. He was the first person I saw at break of day; long before anyone else was moving he rapidly viewed the construction and angles of the batteries, and expressed to me his satisfaction at the expedition with which they had been constructed. I had at first thought in the twilight it was an ordinary Major-General or officer of Brigade and was almost confused when I observed his prominent features and recognised the voice of the Commander-in-Chief.

These batteries, however, were not made use of, for in the afternoon in which they were completed we again set in motion and lay outside the city walls. At dusk we had a pound of bread and our ration of beef given out, but were not allowed time to cook it, as we were immediately ordered to continue our retreat, which we did all the night till about two in the morning. I had scarcely ever smoked, nor had my friend and mess-mate, Captain Willshire, but on this occasion I had purchased in Salamanca a pipe and some tobacco, for which Captain Willshire afterwards thanked me, declaring he thought it saved our lives by keeping off the pressure of hunger and thirst during this fearful night and till the next day, when we were halted. My friend had purchased in Salamanca two sheepskins and a blanket, on the former of which we both lay, and were covered with the same blanket, counting it a luxury which we had not enjoyed for a long time. To our sorrow, in the morning we were obliged to leave them behind

us; having no means to carry them. Captain Willshire's servant had procured some cabbages, and we were expecting our rations of beef and anticipating a decent meal; but no rations coming, we sat on the ground and finished every leaf of the cabbages, looking at each other when we had done. I have since often laughed outright at the memory of this scene. Willshire was a grave man, and his gravity over the cabbages has often presented itself to me.

It is well known that the overwhelming French Army had succeeded in turning our flank in consequence of the refusal of Ballesteros, the Spanish General, to co-operate with the Duke of Wellington—some said from jealousy. He did, however, allow the enemy, whose force was then inferior, to pass the Ebro unmolested, and to harass our rear down to the very confines of Portugal. It is useless to follow the daily monotonous detail of a retreat so replete with misery, and so disastrous in its consequences. The villages through which we passed were mostly deserted by their inhabitants, who had fled from fear of the French Army, of whom they had a most rooted horror. We again passed Ciudad Rodrigo, leaving it on our left hand. The enemy now began to relax in their pursuit, and did not advance beyond that town, but we still continued our march. My feet were become very sore and cut by the length of time I had marched without shoes, or rather without shoe-soles, for I still preserved the appearance of boots, aye, and made my servant clean them at any sufficient halt. Willshire was now quite as badly off as myself, and he would sometimes jokingly say, "Our Bond Street friends would cut us, but we should have excited pity in any other genus." I had not changed my linen since my baggage was lost, nor taken off my clothes for nearly a month.

When we marched into a miserable village called Campillo, on the extreme border of Portugal and Spain, we found it totally destroyed by the French on their former retreat. The

unfortunate inhabitants were clinging to the bare walls of their native village, some of them covered by the skins of animals, others with a wretched temporary thatch. The village being small, and as I have said, so dilapidated, did not afford sufficient room even for the whole of our Regiment, so that at first each wing remained in camp, or in the houses on alternate days. When within doors we were so much crowded that it was almost impossible to lie down. Luckily for me, in the house I had chosen for the Grenadiers, I discovered in one corner a kneading-trough, about 6 feet in length, which I claimed, and it turned out very useful and formed no uncomfortable bed to keep me from too close contact with my soldiers round me. It would have shaken the risible muscles of a philosopher to have seen me issuing my orders from this rostrum of Diogenes.

The poverty of the surrounding country was such, and our supplies at so great a distance, that we were almost starving, added to which we could not enter upon the most fertile part of the country, within sight of the hills, as the French occupied every foothold. Fortunately we found, growing plentifully in the neighbourhood, acorns, the taste of which was something like a chestnut. These, either boiled or roasted over the fire, formed the chief part of our food at this time. Our stay here was, however, only ten days. Since this time I have often laughed at the thought of a scene which daily presented itself. Major Miles, afterwards Sir Edward, Captain Willshire, afterwards Sir Thomas, and myself, sitting round a wood fire, anxiously watching the roasting of these acorns on a shovel. Our duty, however, was not relaxed, although we were stationary. We were under arms every morning a quarter of an hour before daylight, and remained so half an hour, or at times longer. We had both inlying and outlying pickets and double guards, so we had enough to do.



GENERAL SIR THOMAS WILLSHIRE'S GRAND CROSS OF THE DOORANÉE EMPIRE.



Here the diary of this gallant officer comes to an end, owing to the journal he kept after this date, including the two succeeding campaigns, having fallen into the hands of the French, a circumstance which, I feel sure my readers will agree, is much to be deplored. Nevertheless I am able to add some short memoranda<sup>1</sup> written by him when recovering from wounds received at Bayonne, and these I will insert under the dates of the battles to which they refer.

On the 22nd of May, 1813, Wellington advanced from Portugal for the last time. The Thirty-eighth formed part of the force which, under Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham, afterwards Lord Lyndoch, traversed the mountainous districts of Tras-os-Montes, and passed the Esla, thus turning the enemy's line of defence on the Douro.

On June the 19th Wellington reached Bayas, where the French were drawn up in three lines behind the Zadorra. The Thirty-eighth suffered great privations in the long march.

On the 21st the Battle of Vittoria was fought, in which the Regiment greatly distinguished itself.

GEORGE FREER'S NOTE.

June 21, 1813.—Victoria [*sic*] Part of the Action, led the Grenadiers—the latter part. The Artillery and Engineers becoming scarce, and I having been accustomed to act as Engineer, was called to that post, for a while directing and loading the guns—then again called to my Company and advanced in a charge three several times, wondrously escaping even a scratch.

On June 28th the French General Foy, after severe fighting, threw a garrison of 2,600 men into St. Sebastian, which was further strengthened by the garrison from Guetaria.

After July the 1st the Thirty-eighth traversed the country to Penosseneda, and Wellington then laid siege to St. Sebastian, where

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Colonel Gerald Freer, late R.A.M.C., for these notes from George Freer's original diary relating to St. Sebastian, which is in his possession.



Captain John Willshire was mortally wounded whilst leading the stormers of the Thirty-eighth on August the 31st. He was buried in the cloisters of the Arsenal, which had been a church.

GEORGE FREER'S NOTE.

Aug. and Sep., 1813. St. Sebastian. Here, six weeks almost day and night under fire. On one occasion when as Acting Engineer was taking my men to work at the trenches, one of my nearest men, his head shot off and carried into an adjoining wall about six yards distant, and being dangerous to remove, it remained during the whole siege, grinning, as it were, at us every time we mounted guard or pickett.

First siege, after being under fire daily either on guard, or pickett, or Acting Engineer, for six weeks, made first attack. Was appointed with seventy men to a round bastion. It was partly blown up and we had to surmount with ladders. The breach was blown up, and many hundreds both of friends and foes with it. My battery blew up most properly, but the ladders had been omitted, and we stood powerless to ascend twenty feet. The scared enemy returned, and commenced to fire—the bugle sounded my recall. In the face of the re-encouraged enemy, I slowly retreated to the trenches, and, *Deo Gracia*, reached them, losing more than half my men in the movement. Was thanked in orders.

August 31, 1813. Taking of St. Sebastian.

*Action*.—Remained on the breach full half an hour exposed to every species of missile. Ordered to lie low, Artillery firing over our heads. Observing a window from the houses on the breach which had been lately stopped up with green or yellow mortar, drove it in—*first* entered the town and displayed my pocket handkerchief [elsewhere called “the English Flag”]. Held a house for a time—rushed up the street; in so doing, severely wounded in the knee and fell, but the work was done.

A later note adds—

I *First* entered the town from an aperture from the upper breach. Planted a kind of flag, *i.e.*, a pocket handkerchief, Allison has untruly and unjustly given this act to another, though every officer in the Division admitted it.

On October the 7th the Regiment crossed the Bidassoa, Major Willshire commanding the Light Companies of the Brigade and was the first man to cross.

The Thirty-eighth was at the Battle of Nivelle on the 10th of November and took part in several actions on the Nive on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of December. It was also at Tarbes, Orthes, and Toulouse.

During the investment of Bayonne, Captain Forster of the Thirty-eighth saved a great disaster, by holding a fortified house.

GEORGE FREER'S NOTE.

Dec. 1813. Before Bayonne; had scarcely recovered from my former wound, again wounded, ball passing through my left thigh, slightly splintering the bone in its passage.

Thanked in Public Orders.

Suffered much from this wound, lay on my back for nine months, when I was able to be brought to England.

"Oh! War, War, when wilt thou be commanded to cease?"—G. F.

The Regiment was quartered at Cork in 1814, and afterwards at Kinsale, in which year the Second Battalion was disbanded. The Thirty-eighth landed on the Continent in June, 1815, but too late to take part at Waterloo.

It subsequently marched to Paris and was in the Fourth Brigade under Sir Charles Greville, and on the 24th of August in the Twelfth British Brigade, Second Division, under the same Brigadier.

In December, 1815, it returned to England and was quartered at Hastings, later proceeding to Portsmouth, and in November to Gloucester.

The Regiment was remarkable for its good conduct whilst in home quarters, and on the 26th of January, 1818, it was presented with a complimentary resolution by the city of Gloucester.

In June, 1818, under Colonels Deane and Miles, it embarked at Plymouth for the Cape of Good Hope, where it remained until the early part of 1822.

On April the 22nd, 1819, an attack was made on Grahamstown by a native chief, and Colonel Willshire, being in command, fought and defeated the enemy. For this he received a letter of appreciation from the Commander of the Forces at Government House, Capetown, on the 14th of May. Colonel Willshire built a fort some 45 miles from Grahamstown, which received his name.

Early in 1822 the Regiment embarked for Calcutta, and later was brigaded in Burmah under Colonel Robert Sale, doing good service in the actions before Prome on the 1st and 2nd of December, 1824. It was also at the capture of Mellown on the 19th of January, 1826, when the Commanding Officer, Major Frith, was wounded, and at the battle of Pagahon-mew on the 9th of February, when the Regiment was led to the assault of a stockade by Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had witnessed its prowess in the Peninsula. Of some 900 men, the Thirty-eighth lost 525 during this war, but chiefly from sickness.

The Regiment returned to England on the 18th of May, 1836, having during its service since 1818 lost a total of 43 officers and more than 1,200 men. In May, 1837, it proceeded to Ireland, and whilst quartered at Enniskillen on the 13th of February, 1839, being the anniversary of the formation of the Regiment and the 137th year since it was embodied, new Colours were presented to it.

In September, 1840, the Thirty-eighth embarked for Zante in the Mediterranean, and in March, 1843, proceeded to Gibraltar. In November, 1845, and January, 1846, it was removed to Jamaica, and in April and May, 1848, to Halifax.

The Thirty-eighth returned home and landed at Portsmouth on the 26th of August, 1851, and on the 24th and 25th of April, 1854, embarked for the Crimea.

It was engaged at Alma on the 20th of September, at Inkerman on the 5th of November, and at the capture of the Cemetery, under General Eyre, on the 18th of June, 1855—the only success achieved on that day by our troops. The strength of the Regiment on embarkation from England was 32 officers and 910 men, and it secured in reinforcements 33 officers and 756 men. Of these, 3 officers and 486 men were killed or died of their wounds, and 23 officers and 260 men were invalided home. On the 1st of April, 1856, shortly before leaving the Crimea, the strength of the Thirty-eighth was 36 officers and 901 men.

The Regiment embarked for England on the 26th of June, and in August proceeded to Ireland, whence on the 31st of July and the 1st of August, 1857, it again embarked for India. Although not yet in India when the Mutiny broke out, the Thirty-eighth was in the Third Infantry Brigade under Brigadier P. M. M. Grey, with the Thirty-fourth and the Fifty-third Foot, in the Second Division under General Sir E. Lingard, K.C.B., at Lucknow, from the 2nd to the 21st of March, 1858, when the Brigade lost 2 killed and 32 wounded.

This Regiment formed part of the River Column on the Nile under Colonel Eyre in Major-General Earle's Column, and on the 28th of December, 1884, embarked 545 of all ranks in fifty boats at Sarras.

The Column returned from Hamdab on the 24th of January, 1885. On February the 10th Kirbikan was reached, where General Earle was killed on that date, and soon afterwards the enemy was attacked by the Thirty-eighth and the Black Watch, when Colonel Eyre was killed. Colonel Beale then took over the command of the Regiment, which had lost 3 officers and 9 men killed, and 44 men wounded, out of 1,200.

On March the 4th one boat was wrecked and a sergeant and two men were drowned in endeavouring to pass the Fourth Cataract. On the 5th of March the Column moved on to Abri-Dom, where it was redistributed. The bulk of the troops went on to Korti and the command was handed over on March the 8th.

Of the regiments forming this expedition, the officer commanding,

Major-General Brackenbury, reported to Lord Wolseley: Their discipline was beyond reproach, and I do not hesitate to say that no finer, more gallant, or more trustworthy body of men served the Queen than those I have had the honour to command in the River Column.

In the South African War the Thirty-eighth was in the Seventeenth Brigade, under Major-General G. E. Boyes, and in the Eighth Division of Lieutenant-General Sir H. M. L. Rundle's Column.

A Mounted Infantry Detachment was with Rundle in the North Eastern Free State at Mooimeisjerust, under Major Williams in temporary command, but did not take part in any important battles.

At the present time<sup>1</sup> the 1st Battalion is at Pietermaritzburg.

#### THE COLOURS.

From the Army List the South Staffordshire Regiment, which includes the Thirty-eighth, First Battalion, is entitled to bear on the Colours the following :—

The Sphinx, superscribed EGYPT.

GUADALOUPE 1759, MARTINIQUE 1762, MONTE VIDEO, ROLEIA, VIMIERA, CORUNNA, BUSACO, BADAJOZ, SALAMANCA, VITTORIA, ST. SEBASTIAN, NIVE, PENINSULA, AVA, MOODKEE\*, FEROZE-SHUHUR, SOBRAON\*, REGU\*, ALMA, INKERMEN, SEBASTOPOL, LUCKNOW, CENTRAL INDIA\*, SOUTH AFRICA\* 1878-79, EGYPT 1882, NILE 1884-85, KIRBE-KAN, SOUTH AFRICA 1900-02.

The honours starred belong to the Eightieth Foot only, the Second Battalion.

#### NOTES ON A FEW OF THE MEDALS AND DECORATIONS AWARDED TO THE THIRTY-EIGHTH AND THOSE WHO EARNED THEM.

For the following notes I am mainly indebted to Carter's *Medals of the British Army* :—

THE FRENCH MILITARY WAR MEDAL, awarded for the Crimean War to a proportion of the English troops, may be described

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written early in 1914.—EDITOR.

as follows :—The Imperial eagle in gold surmounts the medal, the obverse bearing the head of the Emperor, with the words LOUIS NAPOLEON in gilt letters on a blue enamelled circle within a wreath of laurel in silver. The reverse has the words VALEUR ET DISCIPLINE on a gold ground within a circle of blue enamel and wreath of silver laurel. The ribbon is orange, with a broad green stripe on the edges.

The following men of the Thirty-eighth all served throughout the Crimean War, and were awarded this medal :—

Sergeant-Major Patrick McFadden.—Did his duty well in the trenches, and was particularly distinguished for his conduct on the 18th of June, 1855, in the attack on the Cemetery.

Private John Walsh.—Particularly engaged in repelling a sortie on the 20th of December, 1854, when the conduct of his Company was commended in Divisional Orders.

Private Robert Longheed.—Did his duty well in the trenches, and volunteered for the advance guard on the 18th of June, 1855.

Corporal Thomas Brennan.—Engaged in the repulse of the sortie of the 20th of December, 1854, and was distinguished particularly on the 18th of June, 1855.

Sergeant Andrew Clarke.—Distinguished on the 18th of June, 1855, wounded, and always a good soldier in the field.

Private Michael Murphy.—Distinguished himself in the repulse of the sortie of the 20th of December, 1854.

Private Benjamin Newhall.—Was a volunteer sharp-shooter in the beginning of the siege, and present and wounded in the attack on the Cemetery on the 18th of June, 1855.

Private William Moore.—Distinguished himself on the 18th of June, 1855, and received three wounds on that day, from one of which he lost his arm from the socket.

Private James Blackmoore.—Particularly distinguished himself on the night of the 20th of December, 1854, in the repulse of a sortie, and proved himself a good soldier.

## THE KING OF SARDINIA'S MEDAL FOR MILITARY VALOUR.

Four hundred of these medals were presented to the British Troops, both officers and men. It has a watered blue ribbon. On the reverse are the arms, the white cross of Savoy, and crown of Sardinia, with a branch of laurel and of palm, and the inscription AL VALORE MILITARE. The reverse bears two laurel branches with the words SPEDIZIONE D'ORIENTE, and the date 1855-1856.

The following officers and men of the 38th received this medal:—

Staff Brevet-Major Archibald Campbell Snodgrass.—Was present at Alma and Inkerman, the Expedition to KERTCH, and Siege of Sebastopol, and was severely wounded at the assault on the Redan on the 18th of June, 1855, as Aide-de-camp to Major-General Sir John Campbell, K.C.B. He rejoined the regiment on his recovery, and served with it to the end of the war.

Lieutenant-Colonel James Pattoun Sparks, C.B., and Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel William James Loftus.—Eastern Campaign of 1854-5; the Alma, and the whole of the Siege of Sebastopol; also engaged in the attack on the Cemetery on the 18th of June, 1855.

Lieutenant Constantine William Septimus Gaynor.—Rendered good and zealous service in the trenches before Sebastopol, until he was wounded severely by a rifle ball on the 21st of February, 1855.

Lieutenant Arthur Johnson Allix Ewen.—Was in the advance on the 18th of June, 1855, and in the attack and capture of the Cemetery by the Second Brigade, Third Division.

Privates P. McGuire and T. Reynolds.—Both were in the advance on the 18th of June, 1855, in the attack and capture of the Cemetery. McGuire was one of those who searched close under the Russian batteries, and though severely wounded in the left hand, remained at his post during the whole day, firing

*now the First Battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment.* 313

on the Russian embrasures ; and Private Reynolds always behaved well in the trenches during the siege.

THE LEGION OF HONOUR was awarded to certain officers.

THE TURKISH WAR MEDAL, which was of silver, was awarded to all officers. The ribbon, which is narrow, is watered pink, with light green edges. On one side are the four flags of France, Turkey, England, and Sardinia, and beneath is a map of the Crimea spread over a gun wheel, which rests upon the Russian flag ; cannons and mortars, etc., are arranged about. The word CRIMEA and the date, 1855, are below. On the other side is the Sultan's cypher, beneath which is inscribed *Crimea* in Turkish, and lower still is the year of the Hegira, 1271, corresponding with the year 1855. There is a variation in the flags in those medals intended for the Sardinian forces, the flag of that country being placed next to that of Turkey, and the wording varied to LA CRIMEA. The medal issued to the French has the flag of that nation next to that of Turkey, corresponding with the Sardinian and British, and is inscribed LA CRIMÉE. They were, however, hopelessly mixed on issue.

THE CRIMEAN MEDAL of silver, designed by Wyon, has on its obverse the portrait of Queen Victoria from the die of the Peninsular medal, the reverse bearing Fame about to place a wreath upon the brows of a hero in classic military costume, with the word CRIMEA near the rim. The clasps are of silver and are severally inscribed ALMA, BALACLAVA, INKERMANN, and SEBASTOPOL.

The 38th are entitled to all these bars except the second, and the ribbon is of a pale blue with a yellow edge.

REGIMENTAL.—Dr. Payne, in his *British and Foreign Orders, War Medals, and Decorations*, records, page 203, a silver-gilt



medal, one and a half inches in diameter, with a raised double border, and loop for suspension. Obverse, the royal monogram of George III., a crown above, and XXXVIII REGT. below. Reverse, 38 REGT. TO A DESERVING SOLDIER AS A TOKEN OF FAITHFUL AND MERITORIOUS SERVICE.

## APPENDIX.



SILHOUETTE OF GEORGE FREER WHEN HE SAILED FOR THE PENINSULA AT THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN.

George Freer was the eighth child of William Leacroft Freer, of Stourbridge, Worcestershire, surgeon, who was born in 1755 and died in May, 1812, shortly before his son sailed for the Peninsula, and Anna Maria Freer, daughter of Edward Hickman,<sup>1</sup> of The Castle, Old Swinford, near Stourbridge, and of Wyken, near Coventry, a magistrate for Worcestershire, who were married at Old Swinford in 1774. Mrs. Freer survived until January the 11th, 1843.

George Freer was born in June, 1794, and joined the Thirty-eighth Regiment in 1812, being attached to its Grenadier Company.

<sup>1</sup> See Fletcher's *Pedigrees and Royal Descents*, pp. 142-3.

The actions in which, as he tells us in his memoranda, he was "personally and actively engaged" were—

1. "Alba de Tormes, at the age of eighteen." See his diary, already quoted.
2. Forts of Salamanca. See his diary.
3. "Action of Salamanca. In leading my company through a village, Garnera Mayor, wounded in the arm, but wrapped it up and still advanced." See also his account in the diary.
4. Orduna.
5. Vittoria. See his memorandum already quoted. It will be noticed that the chronological order is not always correct in the memoranda.
- 6, 7, and 8. "On the advance to Burgos, three small encounters."
9. "On the retreat from Burgos, had to protect the rear guard."
10. "The ensuing summer, a slight action, on advance the French flying before us; I think the place was called Pintrel."
11. Siege of St. Sebastian. See his memoranda, already quoted in full.
12. Storming of St. Sebastian. Wounded in the knee, but first to enter the fort, and for this he was awarded £100. See his memoranda.
13. Attack on the Nive.
14. Nive.
15. Bidassoa.
16. Nivelle.
17. Orthes.
18. Bayonne. Wounded in the thigh, and thanked in public orders.

Of the above actions only six were the subject of bars to the Peninsular medal, and therefore George Freer's medal bears SALAMANCA, VITTORIA, ST. SEBASTIAN, NIVELLE, and NIVE, but BIDASSOA is engraved upon its fastener. The sixth battle in the list,

for which bars were awarded, was Orthes, and it is curious that it should be absent from the medal.

At the close of the war Freer retired from the service, probably being induced to do so by the effects of his serious wound at Bayonne. This veteran of many battles then entered Cambridge University and took his degree ; later he was ordained and appointed Vicar of Yaxley, Huntingdonshire, in 1828. He was twice married, firstly to Charlotte, daughter of Richard Postle, of Norfolk, and secondly to Hannah Bennett, widow of J. Whitehouse, of Clent, near Stourbridge.

Major R. H. H. Jary, late Twelfth Lancers, and Freer's nephew by marriage, tells the story that when, in 1847, he was presented to the Duke of Wellington on applying for a commission, the Duke remarked : " I hope you will be as good a soldier as Mr. Freer."

George Freer died at Sparkbrook, Birmingham, on the 28th of September, 1870, leaving by his first marriage a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to the Rev. George Witherby in 1861. To her Freer's medal descended, and upon her death in 1898 she devised it to Colonel Gerald Dudley Freer, R.A.M.C., " wishing him to keep it for his son, my godchild, George Francis Dudley Freer,<sup>1</sup> till he is old enough to take charge of it, that it may be kept in the Freer family, which was my father's wish."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now a Midshipman in the Royal Navy, and, as these pages go to press, awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for conduct at Gallipoli.

<sup>2</sup> See Messrs. Spink and Son's *War-Medal Record*, vol. ii, p. 17.

# A NOTE ON THE "BLACKSMITH'S," OR KILKENNY, HALFCROWNS OF CHARLES I.

By J. B. S. MAC ILWAINE, R.H.A.



A "BLACKSMITH'S" HALFCROWN.

**I**N the second volume of the *Journal*, Dr. Nelson gives five readings of the obverse legend on the "Blacksmith's" halfcrowns of Charles I. and for comparison they are repeated here.

**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FRA • ET • HIB • REX •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FRA • ET • HIB • RE •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FR • ET • HIB • REX •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BR • FR • ET • HI • REX •**  
**CAROLVS • D • G • MA • BR • FR • ET • HI • REX •**

In the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, now in the National Museum, Dublin, there is a specimen varied from any of the above in reading BR and HIB, namely :—

**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BR • FR • ET • HIB • REX •** Weight, 195 grains.

318 *A Note on the "Blacksmith's," or Kilkenny, Halfcrowns.*

Another example of this class recently added to the collection and illustrated above, is similar to the third in the list except that the letter G is of a more modern form.

**CAROLVS • D • G • MAG • BRI • FR • ET • HIB • REX •** Weight, 230 grains.

The letter G is identical with that on the reproduction of a similar coin in the *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plate LXI, No. 8 ; the weight, however, is more, being exactly 230 grains.

Another feature is a pellet upon each side of the mint-mark, a cross on the obverse. Perhaps as that to the left is treated as a stop after REX, that to the right should be described as a pellet before CAROLVS. This also occurs, although less prominently, on Dr. Nelson's illustration, and there the G is transitional between **Ⓒ** and G.

The specimen is in very good condition, as may be seen from the illustration, and is from the Kildare Find, a short account of which was published in volume ix of the *Journal*. By the courtesy of Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, Keeper of the Irish Antiquities in the National Museum, Dublin, permission to allow its reproduction was obtained from the authorities, to whom our thanks are due.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

SESSION 1914.



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## The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

### MEDALLISTS.

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.



# The British Numismatic Society.

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PROCEEDINGS.

1914.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*January 21st, 1914.*

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

*Presentations to the Library.*

Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd.—Vol. xxi of their *Numismatic Circular*.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. J. Shirley-Fox.—Henry VI. : A series of five groats with mint-mark on the obverse a cross voided, all from the same obverse die, but each from a different reverse die. Also twenty-three varied groats of the trefoil issue.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—Pennies of the York and Durham mints, illustrating very rude workmanship, namely, of Richard II., three varieties of York ; of Henry VI., three of York, and of Edward IV., two of York and one of Durham.

Mr. Joseph Young.—Henry VI. : Half noble of the annulet coinage bearing a trefoil of three pellets 1 and 2, ••, in front of the lion's fore-paws in the second quarter of the reverse ; weight  $52\frac{1}{2}$  grains.

General C. S. Feltrim Fagan.—Six specimens from a small hoard of about sixty silver pieces of the money current at the date of the Battle of Sedgemoor, and found on its site.

*Papers.*

Mr. J. B. S. MacIlwaine contributed the account of the discovery of a hoard of silver coins near Wicklow in 1897, which was printed in vol. x.

Mr. Shirley-Fox gave a description of the method which he and his brother, Mr. Earle Fox, had devised for systematically classifying Plantagenet coins. The general principle was to treat the obverse and reverse as separate units, and by dividing them into well-defined classes in tabular form, it was possible instantly to ascertain whether any given combination had been recorded. Selecting as a typical example the varied and complicated series of half-groats of the "leaf-trefoil" issue of Henry VI., of which he exhibited a large number, the lecturer showed by practical demonstration that any selected piece could be identified at a glance, and placed correctly in its column. The system could be applied as well to gold as to silver coins, and also to those of Edward III. and of earlier reigns, issued before a definite sequence of privy marks had been introduced.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*February 18th, 1914.*

MR. L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The Rev. H. Poole, B.A., was elected a member.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Henry II. : A penny of class 1 of the short-cross series, reading **✠ SACR • ON OXEN**, a moneyer hitherto unrecorded.

Mr. W. Charlton.—Charles I. : Half-crown, of the Oxford mint 1643, unusually well preserved for this date.

A complete circular clipping of a shilling with mint-mark anchor ; also a shilling which had been similarly clipped, showing the extent to which the fraud of the clipper was then carried, and the need for the introduction of the milled money under Charles II.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—A series of coins to illustrate his papers on the mint of Aberystwith.

*Paper.*

Colonel Morrieson gave a description, illustrated by lantern slides, of the coinage issued from the mint at Aberystwith in the reign of Charles I. from 1637 to 1642, and called attention to the various differences which appear on the coins. By a comparison of these details with similar variations which appear on the money issued from the Tower Mint during the same period, he was enabled to arrange the consecutive order, and to date approximately the types and varieties of the Aberystwith coins, including those bearing the "Declaration." They comprised four different half-crowns, four shillings, five sixpences, four groats, three threepences, three half-groats, four pennies, and one half-penny. Through the researches of Mr. Henry Symonds he showed that the date—October, 1637—hitherto assigned to the issue of the groats, threepences, and halfpence must now be corrected to February, 1637–8. Referring to the coins struck after 1642, which had hitherto been attributed to Aberystwith, he doubted whether they had been issued from that mint, and gave his reasons, amongst which were the continued absence of Bushell the licensee, and the sequestration by the Parliament of his property in the Welsh silver mines. The paper was printed in vol. x.

## ORDINARY MEETING.

*March 25th, 1914.*

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

*President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Leslie Thorns was elected a member.

*Exhibitions.*

General Arbuthnot.—Group of medals earned by his grandfather, Lieut.-General Sir Robert Arbuthnot, comprising the K.C.B., the cross and star of the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword, the gold cross and bars for Toulouse, Nive, and Orthes, the Portuguese campaign medal, the Portuguese war medal, and the Queen's medal with two bars, the last proving that the gold cross should have borne a fourth bar.

Dr. A. A. Payne.—Four examples of the Portuguese crosses, also the Brunton gold star.

Mr. S. M. Spink.—Medals of the Royal Irish Regiment accompanied by notes on its history. Also the gold star and badge of the Order of the Tower and Sword.

Mr. Frank Burton.—An original gorget and a photograph from the portrait of the Colonel of the Nottinghamshire Militia wearing it *circa* 1780; which is illustrated in his paper in vol. x.

Mr. E. E. Needes.—Group of six orders and medals of Lieut.-Colonel Robert Nixon of the 28th Foot, which included the gold medal for Egypt, 1801, also a series of medals awarded to the 77th Regiment.

Major Freer.—A representative series of the medals of the 38th Foot.

Mr. T. R. Mackenzie.—Group of three medals, including that for the forlorn hope at St. Sebastian.

Mr. M. A. Jamieson.—The North American Indian Chief's medal, Treaty No. 6, 1876, "Big Bear"; sent from Canada for exhibition.

*Papers.*

Major Freer read some notes on the 38th Foot and its medals, including an interesting account of the forlorn hope at St. Sebastian, 1812, from the diary and letters written by Lieutenant George Freer, who was one of its leaders. Major J. H. Leslie supplemented these notes with extracts from the diary of another officer who was an eye-witness of the storming of the fort, these notes curiously corroborating the details of the story. Major Freer's paper is printed in this volume.

Mr. Charles Winter contributed "The Gold Collars, Medals, and Crosses granted to British Officers by the Crown of Portugal for Services in the Peninsular War," a paper which raised questions of interest. It appeared that although these decorations were awarded by the Portuguese, they were to be made in England by, and at the expense of, the recipient. The result was that many were never taken up, and it was an open question whether the gold collar of the Duke of Wellington, which was supposed to have been a British decoration, was not really one of the two collars awarded by the Portuguese to British officers. On the other hand, it was suspected that at least one officer of junior rank assumed to himself the star given only to commanding officers. The paper will be printed in our next volume.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*April 22nd, 1914.*

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

*President, in the Chair.*

Herr Maurits Schulman, of Amsterdam, was elected a member.



*Exhibitions.*

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—The coins and casts of coins referred to in his paper.

Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher.—Medal to commemorate the centenary of Australia's first coinage in 1813, issued by Mr. A. Chitty.

*Paper.*

Mr. H. Alexander Parsons read a paper on "Some Coins of Sigtuna in Sweden, inscribed with the Names of Æthelred, Cnut, and Harthacnut," in which he showed by the design, lettering, and weight, that the pieces bearing the name of Æthelred were copies of the pennies of that Anglo-Saxon king struck by a moneyer in Sigtuna under Olaf, the contemporary Swedish prince. On the other hand, the coins of the same mint bearing the names of Cnut and Harthacnut were noticeable for the regularity of their workmanship and the purity of their inscriptions, which suggested that they were not due to the mere copying of Anglo-Saxon money, but that they were an intentional issue by skilled moneyers acting under definite instructions for the inscriptions used. These, in the case of the coins of Cnut, included the Swedish royal title; and by close reasoning, based on contemporary and later records, the lecturer urged that the historical silence of events in the summer of A.D. 1027 should be broken by the assumption that Cnut reopened the campaign against Sweden, and emerged therefrom a victor. Hence the issue of the coins of Sigtuna bearing his name and that of his son and successor. The paper is printed in this volume.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*May 27th, 1914.*

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

*President, in the Chair.*

Major John Henry Leslie and Mr. Charles Henry Heathcote were elected members.

*Exhibitions.*

Miss Farquhar.—The series of touchpieces described in her paper, including the rare copper medalet which bears, on the obverse, the Hand of Providence issuing from clouds with rays of light, over four heads representing the patients: legend, "He touched them"—within a plain inner circle. Reverse: Rose and thistle intertwined surmounted by a royal crown: legend, "And they were healed," within a dotted inner circle.

Mr. J. O. Manton and Mr. Henry Symonds exhibited examples of the same jetton.

The President.—A series of the angels issued in all the reigns from Henry VI. to Charles I. inclusive.

Mr. W. L. Pocock.—A touchpiece of Charles II.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Part of a set of silver counters exhibiting figures of London tradesmen and their cries. Seventeenth century.

*Paper.*

Miss Helen Farquhar read a paper, illustrated by lantern-slides, on "Touchpieces," in which, after passing in review the evidence concerning "the royal ceremony of healing" in mediæval and Tudor times, she produced new matter from contemporary manuscripts relating to the rite as practised by the Stuarts. She proved that a brass medalet ordered in 1635 from the chief-graver at the Tower was not, as had lately been believed, a substitute for the gold angel of Charles I., but was a pass, or tally, given to the patient by the surgeon-in-chief to ensure his admission to the King's presence, and to certify that he was a sufferer from the disease known as "the King's Evil." Miss Farquhar thus removed the mistaken impression that Charles I. resorted to a token of base metal as a touchpiece whilst the mint in London was still available for the production of the gold coin; and she instanced in corroboration the fact, now

known, that angels were there coined until the actual outbreak of the Civil War. She also drew attention to certain documents which showed that suggestions were made for reducing the weight of the gold touchpieces, which had been substituted for the coinage of angels under Charles II., because of the great numbers resorting to that King to be touched. Although the suggestions were not then accepted, the reduction was made in the following reign; and later in the days of his poverty in exile, James II. was further compelled to substitute silver for the traditional gold piece.

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*June 24th, 1914.*

MR. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

Diwan Bahadur T. Desica Chariar, B.A., and Mr. Roderick William Henderson, J.P., were elected members.

#### *Exhibitions.*

Mr. S. M. Spink.—His collection of remarkable coins of Stephen's reign, most of which were issued by other than the King's authority and illustrated historical events at the various local mints where they were coined.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—An impression in pewter from the obverse die of the gold medal awarded by the Commonwealth to Admirals Blake, Mark, Penn, and Lawson, for their victories in the Dutch war of 1653. Of the four gold medals struck, three are still in existence.

#### *Paper.*

Mr. Andrew continued his numismatic history of the reign of Stephen, in which he detailed the *coup d'état* which enabled that

king to seize the crown and Henry's vast treasure at Winchester, which, in addition to great quantities of gold and silver plate, included nearly two and a half millions of silver pennies, then the only denomination of current money. Some estimate of the comparative value of the treasure could be drawn from the fact that the cost of building two arches of London Bridge in 1130 was only £25. Under the political conditions of Stephen's election, the expediency of an immediate issue of his money throughout the realm was obvious, and as evidence of the haste with which it was rushed through, Mr. Andrew instanced its legend, **STIFNE REX**, which combined a false English nominative with a Latin title. This first type of Stephen's money, *Hawkins* fig. 270, was probably designed at the coronation, Christmas, 1135, and was continued until the Battle of Lincoln, February 2nd, 1141; but meanwhile it passed through three successive variations, which could be differentiated by the legends: 1, **STIFNE REX**; 2, **STIEFNE RE** or **R**; 3, **STIEFNE**. Mr. Andrew thought it possible that the device upon the reverse of this type represented the royal crown in plan as a rebus on the name *Stephanus* = a crown or garland. This section of the history was printed in vol. x.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*July 22nd, 1914.*

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,

*President, in the Chair.*

### *Exhibitions.*

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Cænwulf of Mercia. Obverse: bust to left **COENVVLF REX** ☉; reverse: cross crosslet, wedges in the angles; legend: **+AELNVVH**. A type not previously known.

Henry I.: *Hawkins* type 251, struck at Thetford.

David I. of Scotland: A penny, or sterling, of the type of Henry I., *Hawkins* 255, reading on the obverse **DAVD R . .** and on the reverse **EREBALT . . . . .** = Carlisle. A coin quite new to modern numismatics.

Henry IV.: Penny of Durham reading **• DIVI . TAS . DVROLM**.

Edward III.: Halfpenny of London of the "Treaty" period with pellet stops and an unusual bust.

Henry VI.: A London halfpenny of the leaf-trefoil coinage.

Henry VI.: A London halfpenny of the cross-and-pellet coinage.

Charles II.: A hammered half-crown in unusually good condition.

*The Sale Catalogue* of the Earl of Oxford's collection of coins, 1741.

Mr. J. B. S. MacIlwaine.—Varieties of some silver coins of William and Mary, namely: Half-crown, 1689, first bust, crown not frosted, first coat-of-arms, and harp of six strings. Half-crown, 1689, first bust, crown not frosted, second coat-of-arms, and harp of seven strings. Shilling, 1693, first bust, harp of six strings; **GVLIELMVS . ET . MARIA . DEI . GRATIA . MAG . BR . FR . ET . HI . REX . ET . REGINA**. No stops after the word REGINA. Sixpence, 1693: Harp with three strings.

Mr. G. R. Francis.—Some curious mint blunders of milled coins.

William III.: Crown, **GEI . GRA .** instead of **DEI GRA .**

William and Mary: Half-crown, first shield, 1691, with edge **ANNO REGNI VICESIMO NONO**, but the coin is probably a contemporary forgery. Half-crown, 1693, with the 3 of the date reversed.

William III.: Shilling reading **GVLELMVS** instead of **GVLIELMVS**.

George I.: Shilling, 1723, with the arms of France instead of those of England between the figures of the date.

William III.: Sixpence of the York mint, 1697, with the arms of Ireland between the figures of the date.

*Papers.*

In continuation of his standard work "A Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.," the President treated the counties of Nottingham and Oxford. Of the mint at Nottingham he was able to record existing silver pennies of all the eight coinages of William I., with the exceptions of types v and vii; but the obverse of the latter was present upon a "muled" coin combining that type with number viii. The whole of William II.'s coinages were represented. Of the Oxford mint, pennies of all the types of William I., and of the first three of William II. were known. Following his usual custom, he dealt historically with the origin and early conditions of both the towns and mints under consideration. This section of the history was printed in vol. x.

Mr. Joseph Young contributed a paper upon the mint and coins of Leicester in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times. Questioning the hitherto accepted opinion that the site of the mint was at the North Bridge, which was more than a quarter of a mile beyond the city walls, he adduced Athelstan's edict which prohibited the coining of money except within the towns, and explained that the authority for this belief was a fifteenth-century transcript of the original schedule of the possessions of Leicester Abbey, in which, he believed, by a clerical error the word *portam* had been rendered *pontem*. Thus corrected, the real site of the mint would be at the North Gate of Leicester, and therefore, as in all other cases, within the town. He adopted the rule laid down by the late Mr. Montagu, that the presence or absence of the letter R in the mint name upon the coins determined whether their attribution should be to Leicester or to Chester. A schedule comprising what the lecturer believed to be a complete list of the known readings and types of the money was appended; and he exhibited his extensive collection of the coins of both the mints named.

## ORDINARY MEETING.

*October 21st, 1914.*

Mr. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

Mr. Benjamin Walter Russell and Mr. Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., F.S.A.Scot., were elected members.

The President nominated Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. Walter Banks as auditors of the Society's accounts for the Session.

*Presentation.*

Patent with the Great Seal of Queen Victoria attached, by Messrs. William Brookes and Son, Patent Agents, 55, Chancery Lane, per Mr. J. B. S. Mac Ilwaine.

*Exhibitions.*

Colonel T. A. Glenn.—Three silver pennies found during his excavations amongst the bones of, presumably, their original owner beneath the ruins of a wall at Dysert Castle, North Wales, destroyed by the Welsh in 1253, namely, short-cross series, one *temp.* John, reading **✠ SAMVEL • ON • CÆN**; the other, *temp.* Henry III., reading **✠ ILGER ON LVND**. Long-cross penny by the moneyer Henri of London without the sceptre.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton.—Edward VI.: A series comprising forty-four varieties of the gold coinages of the reign, including those bearing the name and titles of Henry VIII.

Lieut.-Col. H. W. Morrieson.—Edward VI.: A series of silver coins, from the crown to the penny, to illustrate the various issues from the mints of London during this reign.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Edward VI. : Base teston, mint-mark rose, date MDLI, countermarked with a greyhound.

Mary I. : Groat, countermarked with a portcullis.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Charles I. : Two half-crowns of the types attributed by Mr. H. Symonds to Sandsfoot Castle, Weymouth ; the obverse of both being from the same die, but the reverses from different dies. One of the reverses bore the unusual legend FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA.

General C. S. Feltrim Fagan.—A seventeenth-century token in the possession of Mr. T. S. Joint, of Exeter. Obverse: EDWARD BOWHAY, a bushel or basket?; reverse: OF CHIMLEY ••• surrounding the date, 1669, being an unrecorded token of Chulmleigh, Devon, which is still locally pronounced Chimley. The town received the grant of a weekly market from Henry III., but suffered materially from fire in 1803.

### *Paper.*

The history of the English coinages of Edward VI. was described by Mr. Henry Symonds. It was shown that a considerable portion of the work at the eight mints which then existed was experimental in character, with the object of restoring, step by step, the debased condition of the currency. The constant alterations in the standards of fineness, occasionally in a retrograde direction, led to confusion and irregularities, and finally resulted in the closing of all, save one, of the provincial mints. Further complications arose from the efforts to suppress, and convert into smaller moneys, the testons of the previous reign. Mr. Symonds thought that the coinages of Edward VI. should be divided into six classes rather than four, although some of them were comparatively limited in scope. Several unpublished documents were quoted, among which was a letter containing the young king's personal wishes as to the new coins of 1551. Mr. Symonds also commented upon some of the mint-marks, the interpretation of which was affected by the new evidence. The paper is printed in this volume.

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## ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS

*November 30th, 1914.*

Major P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A

*President, in the Chair.*

Mr. William Edward Gray, F.R.G.S., Lieut.-Col. R. Leslie Birkin, D.S.O., J.P., Mr. Joseph Burton, J.P., and Miss E. M. Manton were elected members.

*Presentation.*

Mr. W. J. Hocking.—The late Mr. Hoblyn's copy of *Leake* with his manuscript notes.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton.—A selection of forty-five circular clippings from a large find in 1898 or thereabouts. The find consisted wholly of similar objects weighing in all about twelve ounces, and was discovered in a cellar during the demolition of a house in Middlesex Street, formerly Petticoat Lane, Whitechapel. It was, it is believed, in a wooden box. The portions clipped away comprised the whole of the legends, the inner circle being taken approximately for the line of cutting. Some of the coins had already been clipped in a less drastic manner, as the clippings showed. Among them were the following :—

Philip and Mary : Shillings. Elizabeth : Shillings with the mint-marks cross-crosslet, martlet, bell, A, crescent, hand, tun, 1 and 2 ; Sixpences, lys? and pheon. James I. : Shillings, thistle and lys, *exurgat*, lys, *quæ Deus*, rose and escallop. Charles I. : Shillings, feathers, triangle, triangle-in-circle, P in brackets, and sun. Charles II. : Shilling.

Also, for comparison, thirty-six examples of heavily-clipped coins from various sources, ranging from the reign of Edward III. to that of Charles II., to show the state to which the currency was reduced.

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## THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Major Freer proposed a vote of congratulation to the President upon his appointment as Major to the 14th Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment, and assured him that every good wish of the members would accompany him when he was called to the Front, also on behalf of the Society he expressed the deep appreciation felt by all for his services as President.

Resolutions of honour to those members who had fallen in the war and also to those who were on active service in the Allied Forces, and of sympathy with those who were interned by the enemy, were passed.

### *Council's Report.*

The Secretary read the Eleventh Annual Report of the Council as follows :—

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

*November 30th, 1914.*

The Council has the honour to present its Eleventh Annual Report to the Members.

On November 30th, 1913, the Society consisted of 18 Royal, 15 Honorary, and 428<sup>1</sup> Ordinary Members, the total being 461.

Since then a vast war cloud has burst upon the world, the effects of which are so far-spreading that many learned societies upon the Continent of Europe are shaken to their foundations.

<sup>1</sup> This number has been corrected from the Treasurer's books.

But our Society stands upon firm ground, not only geographically, but also financially, and it is strengthened by the united support of its Members. Your Council is therefore able to assure you that with the exception of a slight fall from the average in the enrolment of new members, which was to be expected, the British Numismatic Society—with the British Empire—can look with confidence upon both present and coming events.

It is a thankful pleasure to report that during the year there has been no reduction in the number of our Royal Members. But the Society will share that wave of heartfelt sorrow which has spread throughout the Empire for the death of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., who was one of the first Honorary Members to be elected by it. The same list is also reduced by the retirement from this country of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador.

The war has claimed its toll of two, at least, of our Ordinary Members, namely, Brigadier-General Norman Reginald McMahon, D.S.O., of the Royal Fusiliers, and Captain Walton Mellor, of the Royal Irish Regiment. The Brigadier joined the Society at its inauguration, and Captain Mellor was the nephew of your Secretary. Their loss in the service of our country will be regretted by all of us. It is the Council's sad duty to also report the decease of the following ten Members :—

Miss K. N. Addison-Scott,  
Mr. F. Everard Colt,  
Mr. C. J. Crosbie Dawson,  
Mr. Frederic Cornish Frost,  
F.S.A.,  
Mr. C. Grugeon,  
Mr. J. Coolidge Hills,

Major Robert Pilkington Jackson,  
Sir Hubert E. H. Jerningham,  
K.C.M.G., F.S.A.,  
Herr Jacques Schulman, and  
The Rev. Joseph Atkinson  
Stewart.

In the late Major Jackson the Society lost a valued contributor to its *Journal*, on the Indian currency, in which series he was an expert and fluent writer.

Notwithstanding the economic pressure usually incident to war's alarms, the list of 15 resignations is lighter than the average, and few are due to that cause. Two have ceased to be Members from other causes.

On the other hand, the Council has the pleasure to announce the names of 13 Members who have joined the Society during the year, namely :—

Lt.-Col. R. Leslie Birkin,	Mr. Roderick W. Henderson, J.P.,
D.S.O., J.P.,	Major John Henry Leslie, R.A.
Mr. Joseph Burton, J.P.,	Miss E. M. Manton,
Diwan Bahadur T. Desica Chariar,	The Rev. H. Poole, B.A.,
B.A.,	Mr. Benjamin Walter Russell,
Mr. William Edward Gray,	Herr Maurits Schulman,
F.R.G.S.,	Mr. Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., and
Mr. Charles Henry Heathcote,	Mr. Leslie Thorns.

SUMMARY.

	<i>Royal.</i>	<i>Honorary.</i>	<i>Ordinary.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
30th November, 1913 ...	18	15	428	461
Since elected ... ..	—	—	13	13
	18	15	441	474
Deceased ... ..	—	1	12	13
Resigned ... ..	—	1	14	15
Amoved ... ..	—	—	2	2
30th November, 1914 ...	18	13	413	444

In this stress of war every deep feeling of our hearts will be stirred for the welfare of the Royal Sons of our Gracious Patron King

George V. ; also with admiration for the heroic efforts of our Royal Members, His Majesty Albert, King of the Belgians, and his Royal Consort the Queen of the Belgians.

To our colleague upon the Council, Mr. Lionel L. Fletcher, of the Honourable Artillery Company, to Lieutenant Courtenay Carlyon-Britton, son of our President, of the Royal Navy, Submarine Department, and to all our Members engaged upon active service for their country, we tender a heartfelt wish for a happy issue to their duties.

To-day Major Carlyon-Britton completes his fifth consecutive year of office as President of the Society, and under our Rules the Council is prohibited from nominating him for the ensuing year. During the eleven years since the inauguration of the Society, Major Carlyon-Britton has held that office by the unanimous wish of all for the full period allowed by the Rules, namely, for two terms of five years each. To him, far more than to any other member, is due the position the Society enjoys in the world of science, also its phenomenal success from the day its formation was first contemplated by him and his two colleagues. Members will endorse these expressions of gratitude to him, and will unite with the Council in the hope that his good efforts on behalf of the Society will so far as possible be continued in his new office of Director. We say "so far as possible," because Major Carlyon-Britton has recently offered his services and been appointed Major to the 14th Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment, with orders to forthwith join his Regiment at Falmouth *en route* for service abroad. The best wishes of our Members will accompany him.

The Council feels assured that Members with one accord will welcome the selection of Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Morrieson as President for the ensuing year, and unite with it in giving their most loyal support to him in that office. He was an original Member of the Society, and for the last ten years has been its Librarian. During the whole of that period no one could have given more care and attention to the duties of the office than Colonel Morrieson has devoted, and your Council expresses its deep appreciation of his services.

In selecting Mr. Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton to succeed Colonel Morrieson as Librarian, the Council is influenced by the keen interest

he has taken in assisting his father in the routine duties of the Society ; particularly in this relation during recent years.

The Report of Mr. A. C. Hutchins, as Treasurer, will be laid before you. Mr. Hutchins keeps the accounts of the Society in a most clear and precise manner, and the books, vouchers and securities are submitted to every meeting of the Council. The accounts for the past year have been verified by Mr. Walter Banks and Mr. W. Beresford Smith as Honorary Auditors, and to them the thanks of the Members are due. The sound financial position of the Society is a most gratifying element to your Council.

Members will unite with us in acknowledging our indebtedness to Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Lumb for their continued generosity in placing the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square, at the service of the Society.

Mr. H. B. Earle Fox, Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox, and Mr. L. A. Lawrence, continue to conduct their respective duties with reference to the Research Fund and the Lantern-slide Department with their accustomed ability.

Volume X of the *Journal* is now in the press and will soon be in the Members' hands. It completes the First Series of the *British Numismatic Journal*, and will contain a short general index. A detailed index to the ten volumes would require, at least, 150 pages, and your Council, therefore, thinks it advisable to leave this matter over until, perhaps, at the close of the Second Series, it will become necessary, and may then be met by the issue of a separate Index volume. That the present series has uniformly upheld its high standard of excellence, from the first volume to the last, is vouched by a recent comment of the Librarian of one of our largest Institutions :—  
“ No volume finds its way on to our shelves that is better worth its cost than the *British Numismatic Journal*.” The Council trusts that the Second Series will continue to justify this encomium, and any suggestions by Members to improve it in any way will be welcomed by the Editor. The object in dividing the publication into series of ten years each is to enable new Members to commence their sets of volumes with the current section ; and this offers an additional

inducement to Members who join the Society in the immediate future.

It is the merit of the papers inserted that qualify the status of a Journal, and the Council takes this opportunity of expressing its indebtedness to the abilities in that respect of the numerous contributors to the series. It has never been the policy of the Council to comment upon the merits of any paper, for that is best left to the reader ; and therefore it can only say generally that the result of the last ten years has far surpassed its most sanguine hopes when the publication was first contemplated.

To those Members who so generously contribute to the Library and Collections of the Society, the Council tenders its thanks ; and it is also grateful to those who help the interest of our Meetings by the exhibition of coins, medals, tokens and objects of interest from their collections. In this respect the exhibitions have been very satisfactory during the past year, but the Council would like to hint that they might be of a more general character if Members would dismiss from mind the false idea that only the "rarest of the rare" would interest those who attend.

Whilst reviewing the ten years of literary work and the eleven years of practical work, the Council would like to call attention to two points which are open to improvement, for in everything else the Society has surpassed all expectations. They are : 1. The attendance at our Monthly Meetings. The number of Members and their friends present averages 30. This is not sufficient, because our object is to extend interest in historical numismatics as widely as possible. The obvious remedy is that perhaps those who can attend will invite their friends to accompany them until the average attendance is increased to at least 50. 2. The enrolment of new Members. We are at least 60 below our limit of 500 Ordinary Members, and this is a matter of considerable anxiety to your Council. A circular prospectus has been sent to each of you, urging you to bring it to the notice of those whom you think likely to be interested in the encouragement of numismatic science, but the result has not been what was expected. The Council is most grateful to those Members, few and therefore the more

valued, who have already entered into the spirit of this movement, and it confidently believes that when the general body of Members really realizes that it is necessary for them to assist the Council in this vital matter, the trouble will be promptly removed. That this is an unfortunate time is granted, but that our general Members can help us to fill our vacancies, and themselves continue to support our efforts, is an appeal to them which they will, we trust, appreciate.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Hutchins, as Honorary Treasurer, submitted his annual report on the financial position of the Society, which was passed with a vote of thanks to him for his services.

The Rev. C. K. Henderson and Mr. Crane were appointed scrutators of the ballot.

*Ballot for Officers.*

The ballot having been declared closed, the scrutators announced that all the members nominated by the Council as Officers for the Session 1915 had been elected, namely :—

*OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—SESSION 1915.*

*President* :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, late R.A., F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents* :—Miss Helen Farquhar; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.;  
L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A.; Bernard Roth, J.P., F.S.A.; J. Sanford Saltus;  
J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A.

*Director* :—Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

*Treasurer* :—Alexander C. Hutchins, F.C.A.

*Librarian* :—Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton.

*Secretary* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

*Council* :—Stanley Bousfield, M.A., M.D.; William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S.; General C. S. Feltrim Fagan, F.R.G.S.; Lionel L. Fletcher; The Rev. C. K. Henderson, M.A.; Mellor Lumb; Philip Nelson, M.D., F.S.A.; William Sharp Ogden, F.S.A.; Colonel J. W. R. Parker, C.B., D.L., J.P., F.S.A.; H. Alexander Parsons; Edward Shepherd; Samuel M. Spink; Henry Symonds, F.S.A.; Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.; Captain Nevile R. Wilkinson, C.V.O., F.S.A., Ulster King of Arms.



*The John Sanford Saltus Medal.*

The scrutators also reported that the voting for the award of the John Sanford Saltus Medal was almost unanimous in favour of Mr. W. J. Andrew for his "Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen."

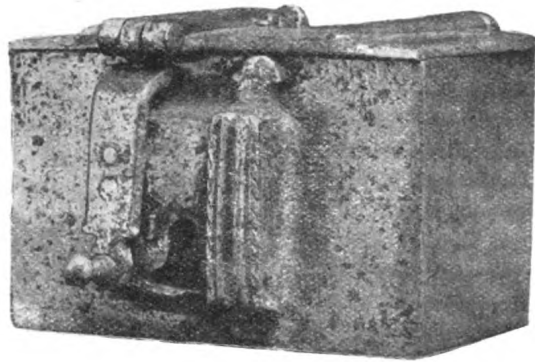
*Exhibition.*

STEEL CASKET, FOURTEENTH CENTURY. W. J. ANDREW.

Both sides are alike, but on one the imitation hinges are clasps opened by secret springs. Size:  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  inches. A very similar casket, now in the Royal United Service Museum, Whitehall, was dug up about the year 1840 at Caumartin on the Field of Crécy containing "gold and other coins to a large amount. . . . The gold consisted chiefly of the rose [*sic*] noble of Edward III."<sup>1</sup>

To a large and varied exhibition of the side-lights of numismatics many members had contributed objects of interest, amongst which were noticeable the following: gold ring money and a beautiful gold torque of the Early Iron Age, found together; large silver penannular ring; a die for the obverse of Henry II.'s first coinage; and original

<sup>1</sup> *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. ii, pp. 305-309, where the Caumartin casket is engraved.



MINIATURE CASKET OF STEEL, FOURTEENTH CENTURY. W. J. ANDREW.

Used for money. The sides, ends, and base are welded together into one piece of metal, and the hinges ornamented with fleurs de lys. Size :  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.



SMALL OAK COFFER, FIFTEENTH CENTURY. W. SHARP OGDEN.

A miniature chest of the best English workmanship of about the time of Henry VI. Such coffers were the receptacles for deeds, money and jewellery. Size :  $25 \times 12\frac{1}{2} \times 11$  inches. The front and back are of solid planks one inch thick at the top and tapering to five-eighths at the bottom, but the ends are of one-inch oak throughout, and the top is also of inch oak, strengthened by a beaded framing. All are pinned together with wooden pegs.

proclamations suppressing tradesmen's tokens in 1672 and 1674, by Mr. W. C. Wells,—bronze ring money; Roman bronze urn found near Ripon, containing money; and poor-boxes and money caskets from the thirteenth century to the eighteenth, by Mr. W. J. Andrew,—a similar Roman urn found with the last; and a bronze casket, in the form of a building of the seventeenth century, found in the excavations for



MINIATURE CASKET OF STEEL AND BRASS, SIXTEENTH CENTURY. L. A. LAWRENCE.

The first figure shows the casket open and the lock within the lid, as in the "Armada" iron chests of the period. The second illustration is of the lid, and the carefully engraved costumes date the work in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The key-hole is concealed beneath the central brass bar, which slides upon a spring. Size :  $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$  inches.

London Bridge, by Mr. W. S. Ogden,—coins bearing early Christian symbols, by Mr. F. A. Walters,—inscribed tally-sticks, *temp.* Edward III.; miniature casket engraved with figures, *temp.* Elizabeth; and money scales in cases, *temp.* James I., by Mr. L. A. Lawrence,—a curious Rockingham money-box, by Mrs. Shirley-Fox,—money scales;

Indian chuckram boards ; set of card notes for the crown, half-crown, and shilling, Isle of Man, 1815-16 ; obsidional pieces ; and hundreds



CHURCH POOR BOXES, SEVENTEENTH-EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. W. J. ANDREW.

The first is of iron, 8 × 5 inches, with the usual three locks and a money slot  $1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$  inches, which would pass any of the usual currency. The second is of steel, 6 × 4 inches, with two locks, one covered by the padlocked hasp. It is engraved with three interlaced fishes, the symbol of the Trinity, and the date, ANNO 1744, above ; but this may be later than the box itself. The money slot is only  $1\frac{1}{10} \times \frac{1}{8}$  inches, which would not take a larger coin than a shilling or a halfpenny of its period.

of curious issues and substitutes for money from all parts of the world, such as the Swedish dalers, Mexican axe money, Siamese ingots, split ingots, canoe-, bullet-, and willow-leaf money, Chinese annulets and ingots, Cufic glass money, South American wood money, Vancouver shell money, Persian hook money, and a Venetian ten-zecchini gold piece of the last Doge, by Mr. S. M. Spink ;—ring money from Benin ; Chinese bronze money ; and a medal of Sir Isaac Newton in original case, by Lieut.-Colonel Morrieson,—and model three-cornered hats, *temp.* George III., with other curiosities made of British coins ; and a collection of old coin-weights, by Mr. William Charlton.



BRONZE CASKET, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. W. SHARP OGDEN.

This casket was found in the Thames during the excavations for the present London Bridge about the year 1825. It is strictly architectural in design, representing a house, or other building, and is built of plates of metal, the mouldings and decorations being also separately applied. In the lower half of the central window, on the side shown, is a grille opening to a shallow cavity. From this and other features, such as the boss at each end, for suspension, Mr. Ogden is of opinion that the casket was a reliquary, and that the present finial, which is of much later work, was added at the time of discovery to replace a missing cross, or other surmounting emblem. Size :  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 10 \times 6$  inches.



MINIATURE ORMOLU CASKET, LATE FRENCH. W. J. ANDREW.

The surmounting group represents Maternity. Size:  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

# The British Numismatic Society.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1914.

Dr.

Cr.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To printing and binding the 1913 <i>Journal</i> , including reprints, plates, blocks, and expenses of distribution	... .. 385 8 1	By subscriptions	... .. 424 4 0
„ printing and stationery	... .. 9 11 5	„ admission fees	... .. 6 6 0
„ postages	... .. 18 3 8	„ dividends and interest	... .. 24 12 11
„ expenses of Meetings	... .. 9 0 8	„ amount transferred from General Purposes Fund	37 12 1
„ reports of Meetings	... .. 5 3 6		
„ sundry expenses	... .. 2 7 8		
„ secretary's travelling expenses	... .. 52 10 0		
„ clerk to Council's fee	... .. 10 10 0		
Total	£492 15 0		£492 15 0

## BALANCE SHEET; November 18th, 1914.

**DR.**

VOL. XI.

<p>To sundry liabilities ...</p> <p>" subscriptions received in advance ...</p> <p>" <i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund</i>—</p> <p>Capital account (per contra) ...</p> <p>Add Income account ...</p> <p><i>Research Fund</i>—</p> <p>Balance from last account ...</p> <p>Add Dividends on Investments ...</p> <p><i>Less expenditure</i> ...</p> <p><i>General Purposes Fund</i>—</p> <p>Balance from last account ...</p> <p>Add interest and dividends ...</p> <p><i>Less amount transferred to Income and Expenditure Account</i> ...</p> <p><i>Accumulated Fund</i> ...</p>	<p>£ s. d. £ s. d.</p> <p>... .. 441 7 7</p> <p>... .. 8 8 0</p> <p>... 161 16 2</p> <p>... 6 13 9</p> <p>... 168 9 11</p> <p>... 236 14 2</p> <p>7 0 0</p> <p>243 14 2</p> <p>15 0 0</p> <p>228 14 2</p> <p>514 12 10</p> <p>19 13 2</p> <p>534 6 0</p> <p>37 12 1</p> <p>496 13 11</p> <p>717 0 11</p> <p>£2,060 14 6</p>	<p>Investments—</p> <p>Accumulated Fund</p> <p>£1,050 Consols at cost ...</p> <p>General Purposes Fund—The gift of Mr. J. Sanford Saltus—</p> <p>£500 New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock ...</p> <p><i>J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund</i>—</p> <p>India 3½ per cent. Stock (per contra) ...</p> <p>Research Fund—</p> <p>India 3½ per cent. Stock ...</p> <p>Subscriptions outstanding ...</p> <p>Dividends accrued due... ..</p> <p>Library, at cost ...</p> <p>Cash at bank ...</p> <p>1,734 13 5</p> <p>22 1 0</p> <p>10 7 9</p> <p>120 2 0</p> <p>173 10 4</p> <p>£ s. d. £ s. d.</p> <p>... 869 12 9</p> <p>... 503 4 6</p> <p>... 161 16 2</p> <p>... 200 0 0</p> <p>£2,060 14 6</p>
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## AUDITORS' REPORT:

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the accounts of the above Society, hereby certify that all our requirements as auditors have been complied with, and report to the Members that we have examined and compared the above accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society, and in our opinion they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, as shown by the books of the Society.

*November 26th, 1914.*

WALTER BANKS,  
W. BERESFORD SMITH, } Auditors.





# THE RULES OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

MCMIII.

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## CHAPTER I.

### OF THE NAME AND OBJECT OF THE SOCIETY.

I. The name of the Society shall be "THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY."

II. The Society is established for the encouragement and promotion of Numismatic Science, and particularly in connection with the coins, medals and tokens of Great and Greater Britain and of the English-speaking races of the world. Archæology, History, Heraldry, Art and Genealogy, in so far as they respectively affect numismatics, are declared to be within the objects of the Society.

III. The Journal of its proceedings shall be called "*The British Numismatic Journal*."

IV. The address of the Society shall be 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C., or such other place as the Council may from time to time determine.

V. In the construction of these rules words importing the masculine gender only shall be deemed to include the feminine gender also. The term "Member" shall also include any Corporation, Committee, Library, Association, Institution, Club, Company, or any Office or Appointment, but the subscription for such membership shall not be compounded under Section II of Chapter IV.

2 A 2

## CHAPTER II.

## OF THE ELECTION AND ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

i. Every Candidate for election as a Member of the Society shall be proposed by a certificate in writing at an Ordinary Meeting. The certificate shall be signed by three or more Members, one of whom shall certify from personal knowledge, and two others from general knowledge, or from acquaintance with the works of the Candidate ; it shall specify the names, profession, or occupation, chief qualifications, and usual place of abode, of the candidate for election ; it shall be delivered to the Secretary, and be read at an Ordinary Meeting. Such certificate, marked with the date of the day when so read, shall be fixed up, and remain in the Meeting room of the Society until the said Candidate shall be put to the ballot at a subsequent Ordinary Meeting.

ii. The number of Members shall be limited to Five hundred, exclusive of those who may hereafter be elected under Sections iv. and v. of this Chapter, and Chapter X., and exclusive also, in the first instance, of Members elected on the recommendation of the Council, under the next succeeding section.

iii. The Council may, in any year, propose for election not more than two persons, distinguished for knowledge of Numismatic Science, notwithstanding there may be no vacancy in the body of Five hundred Members ; but as vacancies occur in that body, they shall be deemed to be filled by the persons elected as Members in pursuance of this Section, in the order of their seniority in date of admission. Such proposal shall be made by certificate in writing, and shall be subject to the provisions of Section i.

iv. Members of the Royal Families of this and other countries may, on the proposal of the Council, be elected as titular Members, without ballot, and shall be called Royal Members.

v. Any Peer of the Realm, or the eldest son of a Peer, or any of His Majesty's Privy Council, or any of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England, or of the Superior Courts of Scotland

or Ireland or the Colonies, may be proposed by a single Member, and put to the ballot for election on one and the same day.

vi. No Candidate shall be put to the ballot for election unless the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, or the Director, and six other Members at least, be present.

vii. Ballots for the election of Members other than those who may be elected under Sections iv. and v. of this Chapter and under Chapter X., shall take place, if there be vacancies, at any Ordinary Meeting during the Session of the Society. No Member whose annual subscription is in arrear for more than three calendar months shall be capable of giving a vote. The ballot shall commence and terminate at the times appointed by the Chairman of the meeting. The Candidates shall be put to the ballot in the order in which their names have been proposed; and the Council shall decide on the number of ballots to take place at each Meeting, having regard to the approximate number of existing Members. At the Ordinary Meeting of the Society previous to that at which the ballot is to take place, a list of the Candidates to be put to the ballot shall be read from the chair, and a copy of such list shall be suspended in the Meeting Room.

viii. The Election shall in all cases be determined by a majority of four-fifths of the votes of the Members present and balloting on the occasion.

ix. The Secretary of the Society shall, immediately after every Election, communicate the result to each of such Members as are elected and furnish each with a copy of the Rules.

x. Every person elected a Member, provided he has paid his Admission Fee, if any, and subscription, shall be admitted at some Meeting of the Society, in manner following: the President, or his Deputy, or the Director, or Treasurer, or Member of Council, or Senior Member, presiding in the chair at such meeting, shall take him by the hand if present, or if he shall be unable to attend, shall state the fact, and say these words:

“By the authority, and in the name, of the British Numismatic Society, I admit you [or such absent person] a Member thereof.”

No person elected a Member shall be entitled to vote at any

Election, or Meeting, or to serve on the Council, or on any Committee, until he has been admitted in the manner above specified.

xi. No person shall be proposed or elected a Member at any other than an Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

xii. The Election, Admission, Withdrawal, or Death of every Member, with the date thereof, shall be entered in a Register.

### CHAPTER III.

#### OF THE OBLIGATION TO OBSERVE THE RULES.

i. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall, as a condition of Membership, be deemed to accept the following Obligation :—

“I do hereby promise that I will, to the utmost of my power, promote the honour and interest of the British Numismatic Society, and observe the Rules of the said Society, so long as I shall continue a Member thereof.”

ii. If any person elected refuse to accept the said Obligation such Election shall thereupon become null and void.

### CHAPTER IV.

#### OF THE PAYMENTS BY THE MEMBERS TO THE SOCIETY.

i. Every person elected a Member of the Society after Lady Day, 1905, shall pay the sum of One Guinea as an Admission Fee : and also shall pay one year's subscription for the current year ; and if any person, after being elected, fail to pay such Admission Fee and subscription within three months from the day of his election, such election shall be absolutely null and void, unless the Council, upon special cause being assigned to them, shall extend the period for making such payments.

II. Every member of the Society shall pay the annual sum of One Guinea, such sum to become due on the 1st of January in every year, and to be paid in advance.

If any Member pay to the Society the sum of Fifteen Pounds, over and above the Admission Fee, if any, and all arrears, if any, then due, all future annual payments shall be compounded.

III. A list of the names of all Members whose subscriptions are in arrear at the end of December in every year shall be suspended in the Meeting Room of the Society, at the first Ordinary Meeting in January of the succeeding year. Every such Member who shall not pay all moneys due to the Society before the then next Anniversary Meeting, shall, for such default, cease to be a Member of the Society, as from the date of that Meeting. The names of such defaulting Members shall be read from the Chair at the Anniversary Meeting, and the Chairman shall, at the same Meeting, make an entry of their removal against their names in the Register of the Society. No person so removed shall be competent for re-election, unless and until the arrears in default of which he was removed shall have been paid. The Treasurer of the Society shall send written notice to every Member whose name has been so suspended, notifying the fact and calling attention to the provisions of this Section.

IV. Works published by the Society shall be delivered only to those Members who have paid their annual subscription.

V. If any Member not in arrear of his subscription signify, in writing, to the Secretary of the Society that he desires to withdraw from the Society, such Member shall from that time cease to be a Member of, and be free from any future obligation to, the Society; the Council may, however, in their discretion accept the resignation of a Member whose subscription is in arrear, without payment of such arrears, and remit the same.

VI. If any person, who has once been a Member of the Society, and has voluntarily withdrawn from the same, or who, having been removed from the Society under Section III., has paid the arrears of subscription in default of which he was removed, be desirous of re-election, and, upon a proper proposal and vote by ballot in the usual

manner, be re-elected, no Admission Fee shall become payable upon such re-election.

## CHAPTER V.

### OF THE ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

i. The Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on such days as the Council shall, at the commencement of each Session, appoint. The Meetings shall commence at half-past eight o'clock in the evening, or at such other hour as the Society, at any one of its Ordinary Meetings, shall from time to time determine; and at these Meetings, in the absence of the President, and of the Vice-Presidents, the Director, Treasurer, or a Member of the Council, or, in the absence of any of these, a Member chosen by those present shall preside, but no Meeting shall be held unless five Members at least be present. This law shall not preclude the Society from holding Ordinary Meetings on other days, or at other hours, if the Council shall see occasion.

ii. Any Member may introduce two visitors at an Ordinary Meeting, and upon such other occasions as the Council may determine. The names of visitors must be entered by their introducers in a book provided for the purpose.

iii. As many Members reside over the seas, it shall be in the discretion of the President to determine whether the questions at issue warrant, or the circumstances admit, of sufficient notice being given before any Special or Extraordinary Meeting of the Society for such Members to exercise their powers of voting; and if he shall so think proper he may also determine the form and period of such notice.

iv. The President and Council may, and, on the written requisition of fifteen Members, shall summon Special or Extraordinary Meetings of the Society. Such Meetings shall be convened by a particular summons, addressed by the Secretary to each Member, to be delivered to him, or left at his residence, or transmitted to him by post, a week at least before the day appointed for the Meeting. This summons shall specify the business to be discussed at such Meeting;

and no other business shall be discussed. This Clause shall be read as subservient to Section III., above.

## CHAPTER VI.

### OF THE METHOD OF VOTING.

I. In the election or amoval of Members, and in all other questions which can be decided at an Ordinary Meeting, and which the Chairman may deem of sufficient moment, the votes shall be taken by way of ballot of the Members then present ; and, in case of an equality of votes upon any ballot, the Chairman shall have a second, or casting vote.

II. But in the making, altering, or revocation of Rules, in the election of the President, Council, and Officers of the Society, and in all questions to be decided at the Anniversary Meeting, or which shall require a Special or Extraordinary Meeting, or which the President shall consider of sufficient importance, the votes shall be taken in the following manner : The question at issue shall be clearly stated in a printed form, approved by the President, with a space left for the vote and for the signature of the member, and this, subject to the provision of Section III. of Chapter V., shall be forwarded to every Member of the Society if the President shall so direct, or to every Member resident within the British Isles, in time for a reply to be received thereto before the date fixed for the voting. Members exercising their vote must do so, in writing and in ink, upon such printed form and must sign the same and return the same post paid, endorsed "Vote," and addressed to, or deliver the same in a closed envelope similarly endorsed, to the Hon. Secretary, at 43 Bedford Square, London, W.C., or at such other address at which the Society may for the time being hold its meetings, so that in either case it shall be received at least 24 hours previously to the time fixed for the meeting at which the votes are to be taken, or, in the alternative, the Members may deliver the form, duly filled in and signed as before-mentioned, provided they do so in person, to the Scrutators at such meeting. It is essential that the vote shall be upon the printed form and shall be signed by the



Member voting. The Secretary, or his deputy, shall deliver all votes received by him, within the limit of time mentioned, unopened to the Scrutators, who alone shall be aware of their contents, and shall preserve secrecy thereon. At the close of the meeting the scrutators shall, after making their return, either destroy the votes or preserve them under seal as the President shall instruct, and if any question shall arise as to any alleged informality the President's decision shall be absolute, and in case of an equality of votes he shall have a second or casting vote.

## CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, AND OF THE ELECTION  
OF THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, DIRECTOR, TREASURER,  
LIBRARIAN, SECRETARY AND COUNCIL.

i. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on St. Andrew's Day, the 30th of November, unless the same do fall on a Sunday, when the Anniversary Meeting shall be held on some convenient day to be fixed by the Council.

ii. The property and management of the affairs of the Society shall vest in the President, six Vice-Presidents, the Director, the Treasurer, the Librarian, Secretary and fifteen Members of the Council. The President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian and Secretary shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

iii. The Annual Election, for the ensuing year, of the President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Council shall take place at the Anniversary Meeting. At the two Ordinary Meetings of the Society next preceding the day of the Anniversary Meeting, the President shall give notice of the hours fixed for holding the said elections respectively; and no Member, whose annual subscription is unpaid, shall be capable of giving a vote at such election.

iv. Every Member of the Society resident within the British Isles shall be called to the Anniversary Meeting by a particular summons from the Secretary, which shall be delivered to every Member, or left

at his residence, or transmitted to him by post, a week, at least, before the day appointed for the Meeting. This summons shall state the time of meeting, and also the hours fixed for opening and closing the voting.

v. The President and Council shall, in each year, not later than the Ordinary Meeting of the Society preceding the Anniversary Meeting, nominate not more than nine Members of the existing Council, whom they recommend to the Society for election as the continuing Members of the Council for the ensuing year, and also not fewer than six Members, not being of the existing Council, whom they recommend to the Society for election into the Council for the ensuing year. They shall also, at the same time, and in the same list, nominate those persons, being Members of the Society, whom they recommend to the Society for election to the offices of President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian and Secretary, for the ensuing year; but as often as any President will, on the next Anniversary, have held that office for five consecutive years, they shall omit his name from such nomination for election as President for the ensuing year. No Member whose profession, business, employment or occupation is connected directly or indirectly with Numismatics shall be eligible as President, Vice-President, Director, Librarian, or Secretary, nor shall more than two such Members serve upon the Council at the same time.

vi. At the Ordinary Meeting of the Society preceding the Anniversary Meeting, the names of the Members so recommended for election as President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Council for the ensuing year, shall be announced from the Chair.

vii. A printed voting form containing, respectively, the names of the persons nominated and recommended by the President, Officers, and Council for election as the President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Members of the Council for the ensuing year, and each of them having a blank column opposite to the names for the substitution of other names by any Member, shall be prepared and forwarded to the Members resident within the British

Isles with the Summons, under Section IV., to the Anniversary Meeting, as is provided for by Section II. of Chapter VI.

VIII. Two Scrutators at this and at all other Meetings at which their Services may be required, shall be nominated by the Chairman at the Meeting, with the approbation of the majority of the Members present, to examine the lists at the ballots.

IX. The voting and election shall then proceed under the provisions of Section II. of Chapter VI.

X. The Scrutators, after examining the lists, shall report to the Meeting the names of those Members having the majority of votes for filling the offices of President, Vice-Presidents, Director, Treasurer, Librarian, Secretary and Members of the Council for the ensuing year, the names of which persons shall be announced from the Chair.

XI. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, Vice-President, Director, Treasurer, Librarian or Secretary, or in the Council, occurring in the intervals of the Annual Elections, unless the same shall occur within two calendar months of the date of the Anniversary Meeting, the President or the Secretary shall cause the Council to be summoned to elect a Member to fill such vacancy, and the Officers and Council, or any six or more of them, meeting thereupon in the usual place, shall proceed to the said election.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OF THE COMMON SEAL, AND DEEDS.

I. The Common Seal of the Society shall be of the pattern and device reproduced on the title page hereof and shall be in the custody of the President.

II. Every deed, or writing, to which the common seal is to be affixed, shall be passed and sealed in Council, and signed by the President, or Vice-President in the Chair, the Director and the Secretary, or, in the absence of either the Director or the Secretary, by three of the Members of the Council present.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE AMOVAL OF MEMBERS.

I. If there be any alleged cause, other than non-payment of Subscription, see Chap. IV., Sec. III., for the amoval of any Member, the same shall be submitted to the Council, who may, at their discretion, bring it before the Society at one of its Ordinary Meetings, and if, upon the question being put to the ballot, the amoval of such Member shall be carried, the Chairman shall pronounce him amoved in these words :

“ By the authority and in the name of the British Numismatic Society I declare A. B. to be now amoved, and no longer a Member thereof.”

And the Chairman shall, at the same Meeting, make an entry thereof against the name in the register.

II. No such amoval shall be determined by a majority of less than four-fifths of the votes of the Members balloting on the occasion.

CHAPTER X.

OF HONORARY MEMBERS.

I. Any persons of distinguished reputation or learning may be proposed by the President and Council for election as Honorary Members of the Society, without being subject to any annual or other contribution. The proposal shall be made by certificate in writing, and read at an Ordinary Meeting, and it shall be suspended in the Meeting Room of the Society until put to the ballot. Such certificate shall be put to the ballot at any Meeting the Council may appoint, provided that such Meeting be not earlier than the second Ordinary Meeting following that at which it was read. The number of such Honorary Members shall not exceed Twenty. Section IV. of Chapter II. shall be independent of this rule, and Members of the Royal

Families so elected Honorary Members may be in addition to the limit of Twenty.

II. Honorary Members may attend all Meetings of the Society, but shall not have any vote. They shall be entitled to receive the *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the Society if they should express a wish to do so.

## CHAPTER XI.

### OF THE PRESIDENT.

I. As the head of the Society, the President shall have the general supervision of its affairs.

II. He shall, as often as may be consistent with other duties, attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council.

III. He shall be, *ex officio*, a Member of the Council and of all Committees.

IV. He may, at any time, summon Extraordinary Meetings of the Council.

V. In the exercise of his functions, he shall in all things consult the honour and interest of the Society, over which he is appointed to preside.

## CHAPTER XII.

### OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

I. The Vice-Presidents shall be limited to six in number and shall be, *ex officio*, Members of the Council.

II. One of the Vice-Presidents shall supply the place of the President in his absence, and, in exercising his office, each shall remember that he is equally bound with him to attend the Meetings of the Council and of the Society, and to promote its honour and interests.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE DIRECTOR AND THE SECRETARY.

I. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents the Director shall preside over the Meetings of the Society.

II. The Director and the Secretary shall, with the President, be the chief superintendents of the publications of the Society.

III. They shall be, *ex officio*, Members of the Council and of all Committees.

IV. They shall arrange, with the approval of the President, the business of the Ordinary Meetings of the Society.

V. They shall see that proper estimates are procured for all work, within their department, proposed to be executed for the Society by any artist, engraver, printer or other person ; and they shall not direct nor allow such work to be entered upon until such estimates have been sanctioned by the Council.

VI. In the exercise of their office they shall endeavour to promote the objects of the Society, and shall, so far as in them lies, take care that the publications of the Society are consistent with its position and importance.

VII. They shall render any assistance, by correspondence or otherwise, to Members towards the furtherance of the objects of the Society.

VIII. If either resigns his office in an interval between the Annual Elections, he shall thereby also cease to be a member of the Council.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE TREASURER.

I. In the absence of the President and of the Vice-Presidents and Director, the Treasurer shall preside over the Meetings of the Society.

II. He shall be, *ex officio*, a Member of the Council and of all Committees.

iii. He shall keep the Accounts of the Society in proper books, to be provided for that purpose.

iv. He shall not make any payment, other than current and petty cash expenses, without the previous order of the Council.

v. He shall, from time to time, pay in to the Bankers of the Society all moneys received on its account, and he shall invest surplus moneys as directed by the Council.

vi. He shall keep the property of the Society insured in such sums as the Council shall from time to time direct.

vii. He shall, with the aid of the Finance Committee, if any, exercise a vigilant superintendence over the expenditure of the Society, and shall in all things consult its interests.

viii. He shall produce his accounts and bank pass books at every Council, and shall submit the same, personally, to the Auditors.

ix. If he resigns his office in an interval between the Annual Elections, he shall thereby also cease to be a member of the Council.

## CHAPTER XV.

### OF THE LIBRARIAN.

i. In the absence of the President and of the Vice-Presidents, Director and Treasurer, the Librarian shall preside over the meetings of the Society.

ii. He shall be, *ex officio*, a member of the Council and of all Committees.

iii. He shall be the chief custodian of the Library, Museum, Cabinets, and Antiquities or Curios of the Society, and shall see that the same are preserved and kept in proper order and condition. He shall keep proper catalogues of the same in books, to be provided for the purpose, and shall, from time to time, report thereon to the Council, and advise as to acquisitions; but shall not incur any expense without the previous sanction of that body.

iv. With the aid of the Assistant Secretary or Clerk, he shall

regulate the lending of books to Members and keep a careful record thereof.

v. He shall assist Members, by correspondence or otherwise, in literary matters, towards the furtherance of the objects of the Society.

vi. If he resigns his office in an interval between the Annual Elections, he shall thereby also cease to be a member of the Council.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### OF THE COUNCIL.

i. The management of the estate and revenues of the Society, and the conduct of its business, shall be entrusted to the Council.

ii. No debts are to be incurred without its sanction, nor any payments, except petty cash and ordinary current expenses, made without its order. Any proposal for an expenditure, other than the publication of the *Journal of the Society*, exceeding the sum of Fifty pounds shall be laid before the Society at one of its Ordinary Meetings, to receive its sanction at the next following Ordinary Meeting, previously to incurring the same.

iii. The Council shall meet once a month, or oftener, during eight months, at least, of each year.

iv. Five Members shall be a sufficient number to proceed with business, except in those cases only in which the presence of a greater number is required by these Rules.

v. The Council shall regulate the proceedings of its Committees, the Minutes of which shall, at every Meeting, be laid before it.

vi. The Treasurer's Accounts shall, at every Meeting, be laid on the table for examination.

vii. The Council shall decide what papers shall be published in the *British Numismatic Journal*, or otherwise, and generally shall regulate the publications of the Society.

viii. The question of the publication of any paper and of any engravings in illustration thereof, shall, unless the Council are unanimous, be determined by ballot.

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ix. The Council may, from time to time, appoint Committees for special purposes.

x. The Council may, from time to time, appoint an Assistant Secretary or Clerk to assist the Treasurer, Director, and Secretary in conducting the business of the Society, or for any special or temporary purpose, subject to the ratification of such appointments by the Society, at some Ordinary Meeting.

xi. The Council shall exercise a vigilant superintendence over the Officers of the Society, and shall take care that the duties attaching to each Officer are duly performed.

xii. The Council shall, from time to time, report all important matters to the Society, and shall endeavour in all its proceedings to advance the prosperity and increase the usefulness of the Society.

#### CHAPTER XVII.

##### OF THE ASSISTANT-SECRETARY OR CLERK TO THE COUNCIL.

i. An Assistant-Secretary, or Clerk to the Council, may be appointed by the Council, and shall, when appointed to the office, either not be a Member of the Society, or, if a Member, shall cease to be so on his appointment.

ii. He shall be paid for his services according to the determination of the Council.

iii. He shall be subject to such rules and orders as shall from time to time be made or given by the President and Council, and shall be constantly in attendance at the Meetings of the Society, Council, and Committees.

iv. He shall assist the Director, Treasurer, Librarian, and Secretary in conducting the business of the Society.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

##### OF CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL AND LOCAL SECRETARIES.

i. The Council may, from time to time, appoint Corresponding Members of the Council or Local Secretaries in this or in other

countries; whose duty, when appointed, shall be to communicate regularly with the Council, and to give the earliest intimation of any discovery relating to Numismatics or other matters or events coming within the object of the Society in their respective localities. They shall endeavour to advance the knowledge of Numismatics in such localities, and render any assistance they can to their fellow Members in such localities or countries.

II. Every such appointment shall continue only during the pleasure of the Council, and shall terminate with the Council Elections in every year, for no Council can bind its successors.

#### CHAPTER XIX.

##### OF THE AUDITORS.

I. The Society shall, at one of its Ordinary Meetings in the month of October in each year, on the nomination of the President, appoint two Members to be Auditors of the Accounts of the Society for the past year. One of such Members shall, if possible, be nominated from the Auditors of the preceding year, so that each Auditor may serve two years.

II. The Auditors shall examine the Accounts of the Treasurer.

III. They shall check his receipts, examine the vouchers for his payments, and make such investigation into the general financial condition of the Society as they shall think proper, and they shall report to the Society thereon.

IV. The Report of the Auditors shall be read to the Society at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall be printed in the *Proceedings*.

#### CHAPTER XX.

##### OF THE MAKING, ALTERING, AND REVOCATION OF RULES.

I. The draft of any Rule proposed to be made in addition to or for the revocation or alteration of any existing Rule of the Society, shall be submitted in print, or in writing, by the Council, or by at least

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fifteen Members, to one of the Ordinary Meetings of the Society, at which it shall be publicly read, but only received as a notice, and not enlarged upon or discussed. A copy of such draft shall be hung up in the Society's Meeting Room, and shall remain so hung up until the day of the Meeting at which the draft is to be discussed. The draft shall be discussed at a Special Meeting for that purpose, which shall be convened for a date later than the Second Ordinary Meeting next after the one to which the draft was submitted; provided that, if the Anniversary Meeting falls later than such second Ordinary Meeting, the draft may, at the option of President and Council, be discussed at the Anniversary Meeting. A copy of the draft shall be forwarded to the Members, and the question whether the draft shall pass or not, in whole or in part, shall be determined as is provided by Section II. of Chapter VI.

II. No proposed amendment to such draft, or to any part of it, shall be discussed, or put to the vote, at the Anniversary or Special Meeting, unless such Amendment shall have been submitted in print or in writing to, and publicly read, by way of notice only, at the Ordinary Meeting of the Society next following that to which such draft was submitted. Copies of all amendments so submitted shall be hung up in the Society's Meeting Room before the close of the Meeting at which they are submitted, and shall remain so hung up until the day of the Anniversary or Special Meeting, and shall similarly be forwarded to the Members.

III. Notwithstanding anything herein contained to the contrary, no addition to, alteration or revocation of, any Rule of the Society shall be made unless the same shall be carried by a majority of four-fifths at least of the votes tendered, but this restriction shall not apply in the event of the Society receiving the privilege of a Royal Charter of Incorporation.

RULES FOR THE  
JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL.

MCMX.

**W**HEREAS Mr. John Sanford Saltus,<sup>1</sup> of Broadway, New York, U.S.A., an original Member, and since January, 1910, a Vice-President of this Society, being desirous of encouraging its aims and objects, offered to found a gold medal, to be designed, struck, and awarded under the following Rules and Conditions, and for that purpose has deposited the sum of £200 in the hands of the President and Treasurer of the Society.

And whereas the said Rules and Conditions were on the 25th day of May, 1910, approved by the Council, and on the same day adopted by the Society in general meeting.

At the suggestion of the President, Mr. Carlyon-Britton, it was thought that the medal should be called and known as the John Sanford Saltus Medal in recognition of its founder. With this the Donor acquiesced, and the name was adopted by the Society.

At the same meetings the best thanks of the Council and of the Society were gratefully and unanimously accorded to Mr. Saltus for his generosity to it, and for his enterprise in the encouragement of the science of numismatics.

RULES AND CONDITIONS.

*The Fund.*

1. After deducting the cost of the preparation of the dies and of providing the medals hereinafter mentioned for the years 1910 and 1911, the surplus of the fund shall be invested in securities for the time being authorized by law for trust investments, in the names of the

<sup>1</sup> Now, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

President and Treasurer for the time being, or in those of two or more persons appointed by the Council as trustees thereof, and the income only of the fund shall be applied to the cost of providing and awarding the medals.

## THE MEDAL.

### *The Design and Legend.*

2. The obverse shall bear a device representing Britannia standing on the sea-shore and looking towards the British Dominions beyond the Seas, surrounded by the legend THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The reverse shall bear the legend "THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL MEDAL, awarded to..... by the vote of the members for ..... contributions to the Society's publications" [the name of the recipient and date of the award being engraved in spaces left for that purpose].

3. In case such device and legend, other than the name of the Founder, shall from constitutional changes or other unforeseen circumstance become inappropriate or obsolete, they may be changed or varied within the spirit of the Founder's expressed intentions as aforesaid.



THE GOLD MEDAL.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Medal is the art of Mr. Frank Bowcher, and struck by Messrs. Spink and Son, Ltd., London. The word "Triennial," on the reverse, owing to the exigencies of space, was omitted when the design was approved by resolution of the Members at the General Meeting.

*The Issue and Award.*

4. One medal struck in gold approximately of the value, including the cost of production, of the then accumulated income of the fund shall be awarded every third year commencing with the year 1914.

5. A similar medal shall be provided out of the capital of the fund, and awarded in the year 1910.<sup>1</sup>

6. A similar medal shall be provided in part out of the then accumulated income, and as to the balance out of the said capital, and awarded in the year 1911.<sup>1</sup>

7. So far as is possible the said medals shall always be of uniform appearance and value, subject nevertheless to Rule 11.

8. The medal shall be awarded to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science. A successful candidate shall not again be eligible for the award.

9. Clause 11. of Chapter VI of the Society's Rules shall, so far as it is applicable, be the method by which the ballot for the award shall be taken, and a printed form for this purpose shall accompany the voting papers which are there provided for the election of the President, Council, and Officers, and shall be returnable, counted, and adjudicated with them at the Anniversary Meeting in each year in which the medal is to be awarded. Such printed form shall contain the words "I award my vote to \_\_\_\_\_, as the author of the paper on \_\_\_\_\_, printed in the Society's publications," with a space left for the Member's signature, or in the case of a Corporate body or Institution, for that of an official thereof. It may also contain a list of the names of previous recipients and of any recent contributors who are then no longer Members of the Society, and therefore not eligible for the award, and advice may be offered by the Council to Members as to the spirit in which their votes should be given, namely, a reminder of the Donor's object in founding the medal, and that they should not be biassed by the presence or absence of plates or illustrations to the papers, for that

<sup>1</sup> So that the triennial periods should date back to the inauguration of the Society.

is usually a matter within the discretion of the Editors. Nevertheless, such advice shall be general and impartial. Directions as to the method of voting may also be added.

10. No contributor who is not a Member of the Society when the voting papers are prepared, and also when they are decided, shall be eligible for the award.

11. In the case of a paper by joint authors receiving the award, or of a tie between two or more authors, the medal may be jointly awarded to them ; or the Council then elected for the succeeding year may make such arrangement in rectitude as they may deem proper, and their decision shall be final.

12. In the case of more than one paper by the same author receiving votes, the votes accorded in respect of all such papers shall be credited to such author for the purpose of the award, but if he or she be the successful candidate, the paper which has received most of the votes shall be deemed to be that for which the medal is awarded.

13. Any canvassing by or on behalf of a candidate shall render his or her success inoperative, and the decision of the Council shall be absolute on this head, nor need they express any reasons therefor, but they may either award the medal to the author who shall have received the next highest number of votes, or reissue the voting papers including the name of the disqualified candidate in the list provided by Rule 9 of those ineligible for the award, and reconduct the ballot either then or in the following year, or make such other arrangements as may seem to them expedient.

14. In case there shall be any irregularity in the ballot, or in the preparation of the voting papers, or in case the author receiving the highest number of votes shall be ineligible, the same shall not annul the award unless the Council shall decide otherwise, and they may, if they think proper, in such case of disqualification award the medal to the author who shall have received the next highest number of votes ; but if they shall decide to so annul the award they may reissue the voting papers and reconduct the ballot either then or in the following year, or make such other arrangements as they may deem expedient.

15. The medal shall, if circumstances permit, be presented by the

President or Chairman to the successful candidate in person at an Anniversary or Ordinary Meeting of the Society; but in case the recipient cannot attend, the President or Chairman shall declare the presentation in his absence. In each case he shall use the formula :  
“ You have been awarded the John Sanford Saltus Medal for the period 19    to 19    , by the vote of the Members of the British Numismatic Society, for your contributions to the Society’s publications.”

GENERAL.

16. The foregoing Rules shall, so far as is possible, evolve with and upon any constitutional changes in the Society and bind its successors, but in case any difficulty shall arise in the construction placed upon them or in their operation the ruling of the Council shall determine the same.





LISTS OF MEMBERS

OF

The British Numismatic Society

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PATRON: HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

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ROYAL MEMBERS.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHRISTIAN.  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS HENRY OF BATTENBERG.

*In Alphabetical Order.*

HIS MAJESTY ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN LOUISE OF DENMARK.  
HIS MAJESTY CONSTANTINE, KING OF THE HELLENES.  
HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III., KING OF ITALY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF ITALY.  
HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII., KING OF NORWAY.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF NORWAY.  
HIS MAJESTY ALFONSO XIII., KING OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SPAIN.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SPAIN.  
HIS MAJESTY KING MANUEL II.  
HER MAJESTY QUEEN AMELIA.

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## HONORARY MEMBERS, 1915-1916.

*In Order of Election.*

1903. SIR HENRY CHURCHILL MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 61, Warwick Square, London, S.W.
1905. THE RIGHT HON. THE COUNTESS OF YARBOROUGH, BARONESS FAUCONBERG, BARONESS CONVERS, Brocklesbury Park, Lincolnshire, and 17, Arlington Street, London, S.W.
1905. HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS DE SOVERAI, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 6, Granville Place, Portman Square, London, W.
1905. HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR PAUL CAMBON, G.C.V.O., D.C.L., LL.D., French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Albert Gate House, London, S.W.
1905. HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE BENCKENDORFF, Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, Chesham House, Chesham Place, London, S.W.
1905. VERNON HORACE RENDALL, Esq., B.A., Editor of the *Athenaum*, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.
1905. HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR GASTON CARLIN, Env. Ex. and Min. Plen. of the Republic of Switzerland, 3, Portland Place, London, W.
1911. ALFRED ANSCOMBE, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 30, Albany Road, Stroud Green, London, N.
1911. HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS GUGLIELMO IMPERIALI, Italian Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, 20, Grosvenor Square, London, W.
1912. ADMIRAL HIS SERENE HIGHNESS PRINCE LOUIS ALEXANDER OF BATTENBERG, Kent House, East Cowes, Isle of Wight.
1915. FIELD-MARSHAL EARL KITCHENER, K.G., P.C., K.P., G.C.B., Broome Park, Canterbury. Since deceased.
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MEMBERS.<sup>1</sup>

*The sign \* signifies that the member has compounded for his annual subscription.*

1905. \*à ABABRELTON, ROBERT, Esq., F.R.E.S., F.R.G.S., Post Box, 322, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, South Africa ; 30, Killyon Road, Clapham Rise, London, S.W.
1904. ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. M. Fraser, Esq., Librarian, Aberdeen, N.B.
1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, P. J. Anderson, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Librarian, Aberdeen, N.B.
1904. ABRAHAM, E. A. V., Esq., Georgetown, Demerara.
1903. ALLEN, WILLIAM, Esq., J.P., Burton Joyce, near Nottingham.
1914. ALLWORTHY, THOMAS, Esq., 127, King's Cross Road, London, W.C.
1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
1912. ANDREW, MRS., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
1906. ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.
1915. ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, Edinburgh, Alexander O. Curle, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., Secretary.
1905. APPLEBY, FREDERICK HENRY, Esq., J.P., M.R.C.S., Barnbygate House, Newark.
1905. ARBOUIN, FASSETT ERNEST, Esq., F.R.G.S., 8, Rue de Pons, Cognac, Charente, France.
1904. ARMSTRONG, FRANK, Esq., 88 and 90, Deansgate, Manchester.
1903. ASHBY, JOHN, Esq., J.P., The Close, Staines, Middlesex.
1903. ASKWITH, SIR GEORGE R., K.C.B., M.A., K.C., 2, Pump Court, Temple, London, E.C.
1903. ASQUITH, THE RIGHT HON. H. H., P.C., K.C., M.P., H.M.'s Prime Minister, 10, Downing Street, London, S.W.
1903. ATHILL, CHARLES HAROLD, Esq., M.V.O., F.S.A., Richmond Herald, College of Arms, London, E.C.
1903. BAIN, R. DONALD, Esq., H.M.'s Inspector of Mines, Aykleyheads, Durham.
1905. BAIRD, THE REV. DR. ANDREW B., 247, Colony Street, Winnipeg, Canada.
1903. BALDWIN, A. H., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, Charing Cross, London, W.C.
1903. BALDWIN, PERCY J. D., Esq., 4A, Duncannon Street, Charing Cross, London, W.C.

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of members this list is revised to date of going to press.

1910. BARBER, GEORGE WILLIAM, Esq., J.P., Park House, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1909. BARNARD, FRANCIS PIERREPONT, PROFESSOR, M.A., F.S.A., Bilsby House, near Alford, Lincolnshire, Professor of Mediæval Archæology in the University of Liverpool.
1904. \*BARNARD, ROBERT, Esq., M.E., C.C.M., M.I.M.E., c/o Messrs. Gibson and Weldon, 27, Chancery Lane, London.
1903. \*BARNES, ALFRED W., Esq., 8, Highbury Park, Highbury, London, N.
1903. BARRATT, PERCIVAL, Esq., Wood Street, Wakefield.
1907. BARRETT, SIDNEY EDWARD, Esq., B.A., M.B., F.Z.S., The Limes, Tillingham, near Southminster, Essex.
1904. BARTHOLOMEW, CHARLES WILLIAM, Esq., M.A., C.E., Blakesley Hall, near Towcester.
1903. BATES, JAMES, Esq., Arran Lodge, Holly Walk, Leamington Spa.
1903. BAYLEY, ARTHUR R., Esq., B.A., St. Margaret's, Malvern.
1904. BEARMAN, THOMAS, Esq., Melbourne House, Tudor Road, Hackney, London, N.E.
1903. BEAUMONT, EDWARD, Esq., M.A., 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1910. BELDEN, BAUMAN L., Esq., 847, Jersey Avenue, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
1910. BELFAST LIBRARY AND SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING KNOWLEDGE, F. J. P. Burgoyne, Esq., Librarian, Linen Hall Library, Donegal Square North, Belfast.
1909. BELFAST PUBLIC LIBRARY, G. H. Elliott, Esq., Chief Librarian, Belfast, Ireland.
1903. BELOE, E. M., Esq., F.S.A., 1, Boston Square, Hunstanton, near King's Lynn.
1905. BERNEY-FICKLIN, PHILIP, Esq., F.S.A., J.P., Tasburgh Hall, Norwich.
1911. BERRY, JAMES, Esq., F.R.C.S., 21, Wimpole Street, London, W.
1904. BIRCH, JOHN DE GRAY, Esq., 29, Connaught Road, Harlesden, London, N.W.
1904. BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, John Shepherd, Esq., Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead.
1914. BIRKIN, LT.-COLONEL R. LESLIE, D.S.O., J.P., Edale House, The Park, Nottingham.
1906. BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, Reference Department, Walter Powell, Esq., Chief Librarian, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1904. BLACKBURN FREE LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, THE, R. Ashton, Esq., Librarian and Curator.
1904. BODKIN, ARCHIBALD HENRY, Esq., Recorder of Dover, 5, Paper Buildings, Temple, London, E.C.
1906. BOILEAU, MAJOR RAYMOND FREDERIC, J.P., 10th Royal Fusiliers, Ketteringham Park, Wymondham, Norfolk.
1907. BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, THE, C. H. Hunt, Esq., Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancashire.
1904. BOUSFIELD, STANLEY, Esq., M.A., M.D., B.C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., 35, Prince's Square, London, W.

1903. \*BOWLES, COLONEL HENRY FERRYMAN, M.A., J.P., Forty Hall, Enfield, Middlesex.
1904. BOYLE, COLONEL GERALD EDMUND, 48, Queen's Gate Terrace, London, S.W.
1904. BRADFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY, Butler Wood, Esq., Librarian, Bradford.
1903. \*BRAND, VIRGIL M., Esq., 1251, Elston Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.
1904. BRIDGMAN, FRANCIS GEORGE, Esq., 5, Duchess Street, Portland Place, London, W.
1910. BRIGG, M. ALFRED, Esq., Carlinghow, Batley, Yorkshire.
1904. BRIGGS, CHARLES ADOLPHUS, Esq., F.E.S., Rock House, Lynmouth, R.S.O. North Devonshire.
1904. BRIGHTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, Henry D. Roberts, Esq., Director, Brighton.
1903. BRITTON, MAJOR A. H. D., Furze Island, Poole Harbour, Dorset.
1907. BRITTON, MRS. A. H. D., Furze Island, Poole Harbour, Dorset.
1909. BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY, 26, Brevoort Place, Brooklyn, U.S.A., Frank P. Hill, Esq., Librarian.
1907. BROWNEN, GEORGE, Esq., F.C.S., Talnas, Grove Road, Christchurch, Hampshire.
1915. BRUSHFIELD, A. N., Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Budleigh, Halifax, Yorkshire.
1904. BRUUN, HERR L. E., Gothersgade 101, Copenhagen.
1903. BUCHAN, JOHN S., Esq., 17, Barrack Street, Dundee.
1910. BURSTAL, EDWARD K., Esq., 32, Cathcart Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.
1904. \*BURT, GEORGE, Esq., F.R.M.S., Castle Hill, Rotherfield, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
1903. BURTCHAELL, G. D., Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.R.I.A., Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, 44, Morehampton Road, Dublin.
1911. BURTON, FRANK ERNEST, Esq., J.P., South Manor, Ruddington, Nottinghamshire.
1914. BURTON, JOSEPH, Esq., Malvern House, Mapperley Road, Nottingham.
1903. CALDECOTT, J. B., Esq., The Stock Exchange, London, E.C.
1903. CALVERT, J. R., Esq., 63, Eastbank Street, Southport.
1908. CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, S. C. Cockerell, Esq., Director.
1904. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, F. Jenkinson, Esq., M.A., Librarian.
1904. CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, Harry Farr, Esq., Librarian, Cardiff.
1903. CARLYON, T. A., Esq., Connemara, Castlemain Road, Bournemouth.
1903. \*CARLYON-BRITTON, MAJOR P. W. P., F.S.A., D.L., J.P., 14th Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment, 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C.
1911. CARLYON-BRITTON, RAYMOND C., Esq., 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C.
1903. \*CARLYON-BRITTON, WINSTANLEY, Esq., 43, Bedford Square, London, W.C.
1906. CARTER, ERNEST CHRISTISON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., Oriel Lodge, Cheltenham.

1906. CARTHEW, COLONEL RANULPHUS JOHN, J.P., Royal Field Artillery, Woodbridge Abbey, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
1916. CASSAL, DR. R. T., Abertillery, Monmouthshire.
1903. \*CAVE, THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE, Esq., P.C., K.C., M.P., B.A., D.L., J.P., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1903. CHALMERS, J. H., Esq., Holcombe, Moreton Hampstead, South Devonshire.
1903. CHAMP, HENRY, Esq., c/o Messrs. S. & J. Watts, Manchester.
1915. CHAPIN, MRS. WILLIAM V., Dunworth, Pomfret, Connecticut, U.S.A.
1903. CHARLTON, WILLIAM, Esq., J.P., Burnage House, Levenshulme, Manchester.
1903. CHITTY, ALFRED, Esq., Kent Terrace, Norwood, Adelaide, South Australia.
1914. CHRISTOPHER, RICHARD THORNEY, Esq., Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire.
1906. CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY, Ohio, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. Stevens and Brown, 4, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W.
1910. CLARKE, MISS MARY WILLEY, Tudor Cottage, Bushey, Hertfordshire.
1912. \*CLARKE-THORNHILL, T. B., Esq., 3, Carlisle Place, Victoria Street, London, S.W.
1904. CLEMENTS, LUTHER, Esq., Kingston Villa, 221, Peckham Rye, London, S.E.
1911. COCKE, ALFRED LOUIS, Esq., A.C.A., 11, Pancras Lane, Queen Street, London, E.C.
1904. COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, H. C. Wanklyn, Esq., Town Clerk, Colchester.
1904. COLDRIDGE, WARD, Esq., M.A., K.C., 2, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
1909. CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Herbert Putnam, Esq. Litt.D., LL.D., Librarian, c/o Messrs. Edward J. Allen and Sons, Limited, 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.
1909. COOPER, JOHN, Esq., Beckfoot, Birch Lane, Manchester.
1909. CORNWALL, THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF, Truro, The Rev. W. Iago, B.A., and George Penrose, Esq., Secretaries.
1904. CRANE, ALBERT CHARLES, Esq., 11, Duckett Road, Haringay, London, N.
1915. CREE, JAMES EDWARD, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Tusculum, North Berwick, Haddingtonshire.
1903. \*CRISP, FREDERICK A., Esq., F.S.A., Broadhurst, Godalming.
1904. CROUCH, JAMES LEONARD, Esq., F.S.I., Common Room, Gray's Inn, London.
1913. CROUCH, WILLIAM, Esq., Friarscroft, Aylesbury.
1903. CURSITER, J. W., Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, N.B.
1909. DALE, WILLIAM, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S., The Lawn, Archer's Road, Southampton.
1903. DALTON, RICHARD, Esq., Park House, Cotham Park, Bristol.
1903. DANIELS, JAMES HERBERT, Esq., 90, Church Street, Brighton.
1903. DAVIS, W. J., Esq., J.P., 8, Pakenham Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1903. DEANE, THE HON. MR. JUSTICE H. BARGRAVE, Kt., Hilfield Park, Aldenham, Hertfordshire.

1910. DENT, JOSEPH MALLABY, Esq., Hill Lodge, Enfield, Middlesex.  
1906. DENTON, HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GEORGE CHARDIN, K.C.M.G., Hilltop  
Headington Hill, Oxford.  
1904. DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, THE, W. H. Walton, Esq., F.L.A., Librarian,  
Derby.  
1914. DESICA CHARIAR, DIWAN BAHADUR T., B.A., Trichinopoly, Southern India.  
1910. \*DEVONSHIRE, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, Chatsworth, Derbyshire.  
1903. DICKINSON, FRANK, Esq.  
1911. DODGSON, AQUILA, Esq., Southleigh, Headingley, Leeds.  
1903. DORMER, JAMES H., Esq., 75, Ilbert Street, Queen's Park, London, W.  
1908. DOYLE, ARTHUR JOHN, Esq., 19, West Lodge Avenue, West Acton,  
London, W.  
1913. DRING, E. H., Esq. (Bernard Quaritch), 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street,  
London, W.  
1903. DRURY, G. THORN, Esq., B.A., K.C., 42, Roland Gardens, London, S.W.  
1910. DUBLIN, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND, ART DIVISION.  
1904. DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, R. Lloyd Praeger, Esq., B.E., Librarian,  
19, Dawson Street, Dublin.  
1904. DUBLIN, TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY, Dublin.  
1903. DUNN, ALBERT W., Esq., 360, Scotswood Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
1909. DUPRIEZ, MONSIEUR CHARLES, 77, Avenue de Longchamps, Brussels, Belgium.  
1909. DUTERTRE-DELÉVIELEUSE, M. LE DOCTEUR AUGUSTE, R.E., 12, Rue Coquelin,  
Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.  
1913. DUVEEN, ERNEST, Esq., 24, Rue Octave, Feuillet, Paris.  
1913. DUVEEN, GEOFFREY, Esq., 15, Stratton Street, Piccadilly, London, W.  
  
1904. ECKERSLEY, JAMES CARLTON, Esq., M.A., J.P., Carlton Manor, Yeadon, Leeds.  
1915. EDEN, TERENCE, Esq., King's Own Royal Lancaster Regiment, 6, Cromwell  
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